Our Party Guide to Immediate Action

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– SEE PAGE 3 –

THE MILITANT

Official Weekly Organ of the Socialist Workers Party

VOL. V. — No. 42 | NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1941 | 267 | FIVE (5) CENTS

STALIN'S POLICY MEANS DOOM OF USSR

SWP Plenum-Conference Adopts Program On Tasks For Party

Largest Conference in History of American Trotskyist Movement Gives Fighting Answer to FDR's Moves to Gag Anti-War Party

CHICAGO, Oct. 13. — In answer to Roosevelt's attempts to terrorize and silence the only revolutionary anti-war party by prosecuting its leaders, delegates of the Socialist Workers Party mobilized in Chicago this week-end in a combined Plenum of the National Committee and Active Workers Conference.

This representative cross-section of the party, called together for discussion and action on the important problems and tasks facing it in the coming period, met for two days in what was to-date the largest, most enthusiastic and inspiring conference in the history of the Trotskyist movement in the United States.

The Minneapolis trial of 28 members of the Socialist Workers Party and of Local 544-CIO, scheduled to begin only a week later on October 20, and the problems and issues connected with that trial were, naturally, before the Conference, and considerable discussion revolved around them.

The main work of the Conference was the elaboration and adoption of the political resolution. "The Federal Prosecution and the Present Tasks of the Party", an analysis of the government's attack on the Socialist Workers Party as part of its drive toward full participation in the imperialist war, and a statement of the party's policy and primary tasks in the coming period.

The full text of the political resolution adopted by the Conference will be found on page 3 of this issue of THE MILITANT.

CANNON'S REPORT

A report for the National Committee on the resolution was given by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the party, who declared that the "numbers, unity and determination of the members and leaders of the party in response to the prosecution are proof that Trotskyists don't scare easily" and that "ours is a different kind of party."

The persecution of the Trotskyists, Comrade Cannon pointed out, is not a sign of the strength of the American capitalist class but rather a sign of its weakness and a telling indictment against its pretensions of preparing to go to war "for democracy."

The Conference, he continued, must lay down a line for the conduct of the defense in court, "obligatory for all party members under indictment," in the words of the resolution, "and worthy of our movement and our tradition: no attempt to water down or evade our revolutionary doctrine, but on the contrary, to defend it militantly."

The main part of his report was devoted to the clarification of the party tasks in the next months, and above all to the need for the members to struggle in defense of their right to function as a legal party. In this connection he cited the trail-blazing work of the New York local in collecting 15,000 signatures in the current mayoralty campaign, for the candidate of the S.W.P.

Mere day-to-day activity, he stressed, is not enough especially in a period of war and of government persecution. Party members must fortify themselves against the rising tide of reaction by systematic education in the principles of the movement. Members must prepare themselves for leadership. Members in the trade unions must pay greater attention to well thought out campaigns and recruit thru their fractions militant workers into the party.

In addition, the party must be on the alert against tendencies of conciliation with renegade and centrist groups, because unity which is not based on principled agreement never leads to greater organizational strength, but, on the contrary, to weakness, confusion and inevitable split.

DEFENSE OF THE USSR

In his report, Comrade Cannon placed special emphasis on the section of the resolution which deals with the burning task of the hour, the defense of the USSR. The Trotskyist position, he declared, must be carried in the next period to the stunned and alarmed members of the Stalinist party and its periphery. The hypnosis of Stalinism, he said, can now be broken.

In this hour of gravest crisis for the remaining conquests of the October revolution, clarity above all is required. Stalin is digging the grave for the Soviet Union just as he had dug the grave for the revolutions in China, Germany, Austria, France, Spain and other countries. The Trotskyists alone bear no responsibility for the defeats suffered by the USSR and the debacle it now confronts. They alone have remained true to the program which can still save the workers' government founded by Lenin and Trotsky in one-sixth of the world.

The resolution, after serious discussion and clarification, was adopted unanimously, a striking and concrete example of the unity and firmness of the party ranks.

Called on short notice, the Plenum-Conference was nevertheless the best attended in the history of the American Trotskyist movement, with 117 delegates and National Committee members and 60 out-of-town visitors from 24 cities and 12 states present and participating in the proceedings.

A genuinely representative cross-section of the party gathered in Chicago. Both in its composition — the overwhelming majority of the delegates and visitors from the branches were trade unionists — and in seriousness, the Plenum-Conference reflected the fighting determination and revolutionary will of the party as a whole.

ESTABLISH ORGANIZATION PRESS FUND

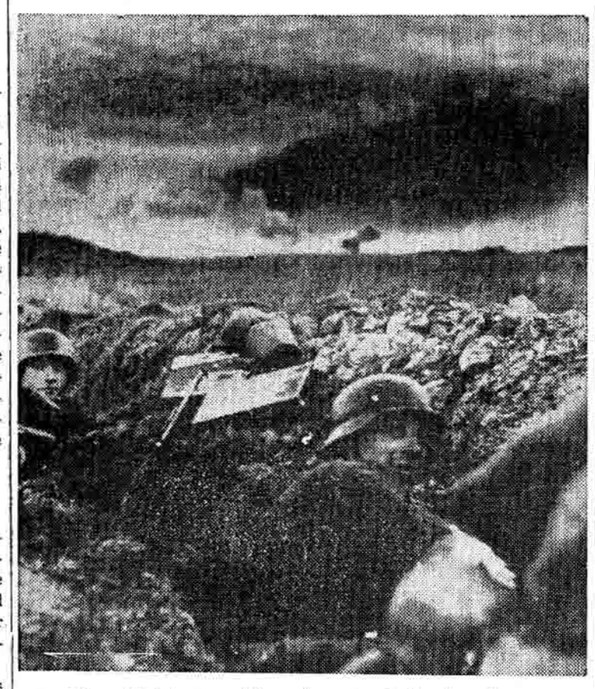
The conference voted unanimously to accept the recommendation of the National Committee for the establishment of a fund for the maintenance of regular party organization and press activities.

A thorough discussion on this point showed that the delegates fully understood the necessity in the coming period for widespread distribution of THE MILITANT and FOURTH INTERNATIONAL and for uninterrupted functioning of the organizing work of the party as a means of properly presenting the news and issues in the Minneapolis trial to the working class, and as a basic part of the fight against the prosecution. Business as usual and, where possible, better than usual, is the sentiment of the party in all the fields of its activity.

That this will be realized in action was assured by the establishment of the party's Organiza-

(Continued on page 3)

Desperate Struggle



These Red Army soldiers shown in shallow trenches somewhere on the Eastern Front, are part of the Soviet millions fighting desperately to stem the tide of Nazi invasion. Lack of competent leadership, due to Stalin's bloody purge of the army in 1937-38, threatens to bring to naught all their heroic sacrifices.

Kremlin Unable To Hide Scope Of Reverses

Lack of Leadership, Due to Stalin's Army Purge of 1937-38, Is Reason for Defeats

By ART PREIS

The existence of the Soviet Union now hangs in the balance. Stalin himself can no longer conceal that he has led the Soviet Union to the brink of catastrophe. No longer does Stalin — the self-appointed Commissar of War, Head of the Council of Defense, etc. — brag about the "invincibility" of Soviet arms.

Hitler's military machine has already seized or immobilized 75 per cent of the industrial area of the USSR. Leningrad and other vital cities, not only in the Don basin but in the very heart of the Soviet Union, are either occupied or immediately threatened. Nazi armies are driving relentlessly toward the political and economic nerve-center of the Soviet Union, Moscow. The Red Army is being forced back on all fronts.

The latest Moscow dispatches are shot through with the panic that is gripping the Kremlin.

Despite the rigid censorship Stalin has clamped down on dissemination of news of the real situation, *Red Star*, official organ of the Red Army, on October 10 had to admit that on the Moscow sector "conditions ...are serious; the danger is great; the enemy is advancing." On October 13, it issued still another appeal to the Soviet troops acknowledging that "our resistance is entering a critical phase; the enemy must somehow be stopped."

The bewilderment and panic of the Stalinist tops is expressed in that desperate cry, "the *enemy must somehow* be stopped." Somehow! These bankrupts admit that they do not know what to do.

Since the start of the war the Soviet rulers have labeled all justified expressions of alarm as "panic-mongering". For such statements as are now wrung from *Red Star*, the GPU jails and shoots Soviet workers and peasants as "panic-mongers, spies and diversionists, etc."

For the first time since the war began, Moscow dispatches contain references to the appalling losses among the retreating Soviet forces. "On the Vyazma salient the Russians have met with great losses," reports the Moscow correspondent to the New York Times, October 14. And the Kremlin censor dares not delete!

STALIN'S BOASTS

As the Red Army suffers defeat after defeat, Stalin tries to uphold his shattered prestige by belittling Soviet losses. A Kremlin spokesman recently claimed that the Nazis have suffered a three-to-one loss in trained manpower and a two-to-one loss in guns, tanks, etc... Hence the Kremlin boast: The more defeats, the surer the final victory! Hitler is draining away his forces, his resources—this has been the Kremlin's chief device for minimizing the defeats.

Stalin had boasted on July 3 in his radio address from Moscow: "Comrades, our forces are numberless. The overweening enemy will soon learn this to his cost."

That illusion of *inexhaustible* manpower, which Stalin has projected to cover up the results of the complete lack of military leadership, is exploded.

The latest Moscow dispatches now complain, "the Germans have numerical superiority . . . The Germans . . . by sheer weight and numerical strength have been able to penetrate the Soviet lines." (New York *Times*, October 9).

It is precisely after Stalin openly assumed all posts, including that of Commander-In-Chief, that the Red Army has suffered its most terrible defeats. He tries to brazen it out. He himself, of course, has nothing to say in this hour of crisis. But his Vice-Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Lozovsky, beating on a hollow drum to try and drown out the repercussions of the defeats, declares:

"After every so-called German death blow the Soviet Union seems to grow stronger." (New York *Times*, October 12).

The current Stalinist campaign

(Continued on page 2)

Poll-Tax Court UpholdsWaller Death Decree

The Virginia State Court of Appeals on October 13 upheld the death sentence of Odell Waller, 24-year-old Negro sharecropper convicted by an all-white Virginia planter jury for the self-defense shooting of his white landlord.

Waller's defense counsel, John F. Finerty, pleaded for the setting aside of the conviction, on the grounds that Waller did not receive a trial by a jury of his peers. Under the present state law, which he argued was unconstitutional, Finerty pointed out that inability to pay a cumulative poll tax bars most people from the jury, and that only those of financial means are permitted to serve.

An appeal on Waller's behalf will be taken to the U. S. Supreme Court, it has been announced by the Workers Defense League, which is organizing Waller's defense.

A statement issued by six outstanding liberals — Alfred Bingham, editor of **Common Sense**, George Counts, president of the American Federation of Teachers, Professor John Dewey, Paul Kellogg, editor of **Survey** magazine, Rev. A. J. Muste, secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and A. Phillip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters — points out:

"In 1856 Dred Scott became the symbol for the abolition of slavery. Today another unknown Negro, Odell Waller, like that runaway slave, has in our time become the rallying point for those who would abolish the poll tax and the injustices of the sharecropper system."

Trial Of SWP, 544-CIO Leaders Starts Monday

28 Defendants Face Government Frameup "Conspiracy" Charge; Trial Part of Roosevelt's Attempt to Crush Anti-War Vanguard

MINNEAPOLIS — The mass trial of the 28 defendants in the government's "seditious conspiracy" case against the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO, Minneapolis drivers union, starts this coming Monday, October 20, in the Federal court here.

This will be the greatest trial of labor and radical leaders since the famous Chicago trial of the I.W.W. members during the last war. It is expected to continue for several months.

Having its background in the Daniel Tobin-Roosevelt-FBI drive to smash militant Local 544-CIO after it revolted last June against Tobin's dictatorial rule in the AFL Teamsters, the trial is being utilized by the war-mad Administration to persecute and attempt to crush the leading anti-war and revolutionary forces of the American working-class.

The charges against the defendants are based on two laws which have never before been applied.

One law is a statute adopted in 1861 for use against the slave-owners of the Confederacy. No previous case has ever been based on the section of the statute referring to "conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence" by which the government now seeks to frameup the SWP and Local 544.

The other statute, the Smith Act, was adopted in 1940. The constitutionality of this act, which violates the free speech provision of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution, has been challenged by the American Civil Liberties Union and other organizations interested in the protection of civil rights.

Opposition to the prosecution has been voiced by almost every liberal and progressive publication in the country. A large number of America's outstanding labor and liberal leaders have joined actively in the fight to defeat the government's frame-up, and have signed their names to an appeal for aid to the defendants.

General organization of the defense is being conducted by the Civil Rights Defense Committee. The chairman of the CRDC is the noted author, James T. Farrell. George E. Novack is secretary.

The committee has its national offices at 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City, and has just issued a pamphlet, "Witch Hunt in Minnesota", giving the full details of the case.

Gilbert E. Carlson and D. J. Shama are the attorneys for the 15 indicted Local 544 members, and Albert Goldman, M. Meyer and former Judge Arthur Le Sueur are the counsel for the 13 SWP defendants.

National and international interest in the trial has already been aroused. This is the first peace-time "sedition" trial to be held in the United States since the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798.

(The MILITANT has made special arrangements to provide the fullest weekly coverage of the trial. See next week's issue).

Will Support Boss War To 'Bitter End' --Green

SEATTLE, Oct. 10. — The first week of the AFL convention here has shown that the present AFL leaders are fully prepared to repeat and surpass the betrayals of Sam Gompers and the AFL bureaucrats during World War I.

Keynoting the convention, President William Green, in his opening address on October 6, told the delegates that the AFL leadership intends to support the Roosevelt war program "to the bitter end" and called on the AFL workers to forego the use of strikes and other militant methods in the interest of "national defense."

Green's speech was in response to a message to the convention from Roosevelt, who reiterated his demand that there be no strikes in "defense" industries and urged that the AFL and CIO "unite" on the issue of supporting the war.

On this vital question of labor unity, Green made clear that the decrepit craft-union leadership of the AFL stands uncompromisingly on its traditional position: That the CIO "come home" to the AFL without any guarantees that the industrial unions will be preserved and extended. Under Green's terms, every craft union chief will be free to pick the bones of the existing CIO unions, claiming this or that section of CIO workers for their own jurisdiction.

The character of the "unity" Green has in mind is indicated by the following remarks from his speech:

"We are ready and willing now to meet at any time with a committee from the dual, rebel rival movement for the purpose of making a complete analysis of the whole situation and for the purpose of bringing about reaffiliation with the American Federation of Labor of those who left us. Can we offer more?

"The home, the rooms they left when they marched out of the house of labor are still there, waiting for them to return."

GREEN'S "UNITY" TERMS

All Green and his Executive Council have to offer, in other words, is the invitation that the CIO submit to complete dismemberment and absorption in the present craft-ridden, dictatorial frame-work of the AFL.

The true character of the convention is indicated by the fact that one of the chief guest speakers was reactionary Republican Governor Stassen of Minnesota, sponsor of the notorious state "slave-labor" law, who recently brazenly denied the right of the Minneapolis drivers to a democratic vote to determine the union of their choice.

Stassen's presence at the convention, which was preceded by his address to a meeting sponsored by Dan Tobin's AFL Teamsters, gives conclusive proof of the intimitate personal collaboration between Tobin and Stassen during the time Stassen's state conciliator Blair was supposed to be rendering an "impartial" decision on the dispute between Local 544-CIO, Minneapolis motor transport workers union, and Tobin's outfit.

STASSEN'S SPEECH

In his speech, Stassen declared that the federal government should take steps to prevent 'small elements' of labor from 'causing stoppages' contrary to 'the wishes of labor's best, national leadership.'

He was obviously referring to elements like Tobin, czar of the racketeer-ridden AFL Teamsters, as "labor's best, national leadership."

The question of labor racketeering provided a constant undertone to the convention.

The AFL leadership has already indicated that it intends to do no more than it did at the con-

(Continued on page 2)

Stalinists Withdraw Own Candidate To Support Union-Buster LaGuardia

The Communist Party announced in last Saturday's *Daily Worker* that Israel Amter, its candidate for mayor of New York City, has been withdrawn and that the party is backing union-buster LaGuardia for re-election.

LaGuardia, under fire as a 'red' from the Tammany candidate William O'Dwyer, hastened to repudiate his would-be allies. "I have not sought, I do not seek and I do not want the support of the Communist Party," he proclaimed in a public statement. "I have repeatedly stated that I do not want the support of the Communist Party."

In one and the same breath, the Communist Party statement declared that a victory for LaGuardia would be "a demonstration of national unity behind the policies of President Roosevelt" and that, "Our position no more implies our agreement with the political philosophy that may be termed 'LaGuardiaism' than it connotes LaGuardia's agreement with Communism."

This last piece of double-talk is thrown in to allay the disquiet of the rank and file workers of the Communist Party, who know LaGuardia to be the most vicious anti-labor, strikebreaking Mayor in a long line of such Mayors.

At the recent Transport Workers Union (CIO) convention, LaGuardia's campaign to smash the TWU and deny collective bargaining rights to the subway workers was denounced by Allen S. Haywood, CIO national director, as "the most brazen and outrageous attempt to break a labor union that I have ever witnessed in my long career as a labor leader."

LaGuardia was denounced by resolution at the recent national convention of the State, County and Municipal Workers union. He has been denounced by other leading unions and Negro groups.

"Unity" with LaGuardia means unity with a brazen, unscrupulous representative of Wall Street and the boss class. "LaGuardiaism"—that is, anti-labor pro-war policies—is precisely what the Stalinists support.

Now that the Communist Party

(Continued on page 3)

CP Joins With Bosses In Denouncing Strikes

Traitorous Leaders of the Communist Party Ready to Play the Role of Strikebreakers

By DON DORE

The Communist Party has publicly joined forces with Roosevelt, William Green, Sidney Hillman and the Wall Street bosses in condemning strikes.

Carrying to a logical conclusion their position of unconditional support of the Roosevelt capitalist government and its imperialist war, the Stalinists, in a featured editorial in the **Daily Worker**, October 10, declared:

". . .President Roosevelt rightly declared that 'this is not the time to take chances with the national safety through any stoppage of defense work or defense production'. . ."

In unambiguous strikebreaking terms, the Daily Worker further stated that it opposed "anything that interferes with production of needed war supplies — whether as a result of strikes or of delays by the employers. . ."

The Stalinists make it clear that their position on strikes and militant labor action is identical with that of the most reactionary, racketeering elements in the union movement. With undisguised approval, the **Daily Worker** quotes AFL President William Green's speech to the AFL convention when he reiterated his "no-strike" policy and stated:

"Here and now in plain words I call upon every member and every union in the American Federation of Labor to stay on the job and keep defense production going at full blast. . ."

ENDORSE GREEN'S STRIKEBREAKING PROGRAM

The policy of Green which the Communist Party endorses is one of downright strikebreaking. Green and his colleagues of the AFL Executive Council not only gave strikebreaking aid to the open-shop corporations against the CIO in the Ford Motor, International Harvester, and other strikes, but in the name of "national defense" they supported government strike breaking against the AFL machinists in San Francisco, etc., and curbed every effort of the AFL workers to strike for higher wages against the rising prices.

This is the policy and record which the Communist Party now approves and undoubtedly will seek to surpass. Henceforth, the Communist Party will seek to smother every attempt of the workers to fight for their rights and conditions and will aid or condone government strikebreaking.

This is the policy that the Communist Party itself condemned just four days before the outbreak of the Soviet-Nazi war, when the **Daily Worker**, June 18, declared:

"Those ninety-nine labor officials who yesterday released a statement urging the President to hurry into the imperialist slaughter are treading the path of the reactionary AFL leaders in the last World War.

"It is interesting that these 99 officials call upon the President to 'go forward' against 'slavery'. The President is going forward, but is for slavery — slavery for the organized workers at the point of a bayonet."

Today, however, the **Daily Worker** cynically asserts:

"When the labor movement expresses such a position (against strikes) with regard to strikes and endorses the request of the President, it is by no means abandoning labor's rights. On the contrary, it is strengthening labor's cause; for the decisive issue today is the defeat of Hitler and the defense of the nation."

ECHOES LABOR'S JUDASES

This is an exact echo of the arguments used by Green, Sidney Hillman, and all the other strikebreaking stooges of the employing class in the labor movement, whom the Communist Party once correctly denounced as **"the misleaders of labor of every stripe — the William Greens, the Sidney Hillmans, who have tried to drag Labor captive and helpless into Wall Street's war." (Daily Worker, May 29, 1941).**

While smearing itself with the strikebreaking filth of the AFL leadership, the Communist Party unscrupulously attempts to cover the entire movement of industrial unionism, the CIO, with the same muck.

Thus, it presents the no-strike statement of Harry Bridges to the convention of the California State CIO as an expression of the entire CIO, by falsely declaring in the "no-strike" **Daily Worker** editorial that:

"The CIO has registered a similar understanding of the gravity of the situation, as most recently expressed in the very important speech of Harry Bridges to the convention of the California State CIO."

The CIO has not "registered" any such "similar understanding". But it is transparently clear that the Communist Party forces in the CIO, together with the reactionary pro-war Hillmanites, are going to attempt to put over such a policy at the coming national CIO convention.

The Stalinist workers themselves will be among those who will suffer worst from this traitorous policy. The rank-and-file trade union members and sympathizers of the Communist Party have been among the chief victims of the strikebreaking policies of the Roosevelt Administration and its bureaucratic labor stooges.

CP RANK-AND-FILE VICTIMS OF STRIKEBREAKING

Stalinist trade-unionists who played a leading role in the North American Aviation, Allis-Chalmers and other strikes of the past six months have felt the full fury of the armed violence and strikebreaking actions of the government.

In the period of these strikes the Communist Party declared:

"Above all, it is evident that the President's national emergency is intended to curb the rights of labor and to crush all popular opposition to his war program." (Daily Worker, June 1, 1941).

Now the Communist Party seeks to deprive labor of every right and weapon with the infamous declaration that Roosevelt's no-strike program for organized labor "is strengthening labor's cause."

The **Daily Worker** makes the same assertions which the cowardly and venal trade union bureaucrats of the Green ilk have always made to block militant labor action.

". . .Stoppages in defense industries under present conditions also play into the hands of those employers. . . who seek for an excuse for not treating with labor on equal terms."

But when has the boss class not sought for excuses "for not treating with labor on equal terms?" The Communist Party wants to avoid giving "excuses" to the employers — by capitulating to them altogether.

FOR "PROPER FORMS OF STRUGGLE"

The Stalinists dare not state this in so many words. They are forced to recognize the fact that the workers have no intentions of submitting unconditionally to the boss class in the interests of "national defense." Therefore, the Communist Party includes in its no-strike statement certain proposals calculated to give the impression that the Stalinists want to "protect" labor during the war-time reaction.

"Labor should find ways to deal with employers who seek to exploit the war to make exorbitant profits and to refuse labor its rights — but to deal with these employers in such a manner as will not weaken the defense effort. . . Labor leaders have the responsibility to find proper forms of struggle in the present situation."

But what "proper forms of struggle" has labor other than the strike method and militant mass action? What "forms of struggle" will the Greens, Tobins, Wolls and Hillmans — the only "labor leaders" the **Daily Worker** has in mind — provide now, when even in peace-time they have been the unremitting foes of all forms of genuine labor struggle?

Let the Communist Party tell the American workers what these other "forms of struggle" are! It does not, and cannot say. No others exist.

All that the Stalinist leadership tells the workers is that they must "insist" that "the government assume the responsibility of seeing that the rights of labor are recognized. . . that the composition of mediation and other boards be of such a character as to guarantee that labor's rights are respected. . . that all anti-labor policies of the government be completely abandoned. . . that all appeasement and anti-labor forces in the government be weeded out. . ."

In a word, the Communist Party is asking the working class to throw itself on its knees before that anti-labor boss government which, in the Daily Worker's own words of not so long ago, "is for slavery — slavery for the workers at the point of a bayonet," and to plead with the government to accept the workers "not as second-class citizens but as equal partners." (Daily Worker, October 10).

Such craven rot insults the intelligence of every worker. Roosevelt by his whole policy has amply demonstrated that he has no intentions of accepting labor as an "equal partner" of the ruling class, and that he would ruthlessly oppose such an "equal" parnership.

The Stalinist leaders are perfectly aware that their "no strike" program is nothing but the immediate forerunner of a policy of open strikebreaking against those workers and unions which do "insist" on their rights and union conditions.

But Stalinism supports unconditionally the war policies and aims of American imperialism. It cannot do otherwise than support unconditionally every phase of the capitalist imperialists' program to crush labor.

Birds Of A Feather

Reactionary Republican Governor Stassen of Minnesota (left), sponsor of the state's "slave-labor" law, in a cheerful, intimate pose with AFL President William Green and David Beck (right), head of the Seattle AFL Teamsters, at the AFL convention, which Stassen addressed. Green and Beck are no doubt showing pleasure over Stassen's help in the Dan Tobin-Roosevelt-FBI drive to smash militant Local 544-CIO, Minneapolis motor transport workers union.

Stalin's Policy Means Doom For Soviet Union

(Continued from page 1)

to get the Allied imperialists to open a Western Front is further evidence to the contrary. Stalin whines and pleads with the "democracies" to save his regime by creating a military diversion.

Only two weeks ago, the Stalinists were proclaiming that the promised material aid from Britain and American had dealt a "death blow" to Hitler. Now the Kremlin must provide the Soviet masses with some other illusions. A military diversion — that will "somehow" save the Soviet Union!

What of the "death blow" dealt to Hitler — on paper — just two weeks ago? "Even the full tide of the vital economic help cannot settle anything . . . The United States and Britain must assume the joint and immediate responsibility of an active Western Front," pleads the *Daily Worker*, October 14, under instructions from the Kremlin. These words conceal the implied threat that Stalin will capitulate to Hitler if such action is not forthcoming immediately.

Stalin cannot and will not this time evade his own responsibility by blaming the defeats on "faithless allies," as he did when Hitler scrapped the Stalin-Nazi pact.

It cannot be denied that the Soviet Union at the beginning of the war confronted Germany with at least equality in manpower, a tremendous concentration of mechanized equipment, a higher level of army morale, and the advantages of defensive positions behind natural and prepared fortifications.

The defeats of the Red Army, the terrible blows to the USSR, are the sole responsibility of Stalin.

These defeats are the end-product of Stalin's bloody purge of the Red Army in 1937-38, when he slaughtered or imprisoned no less than 40,000 trained and experienced officers. Stalin beheaded the Red Army. Today, that army faces the fascist foe without leadership, without a unified strategic plan, without competent direction. Stalin has betrayed the entire revolutionary movement, disoriented and cut to pieces the vanguard of the world proletariat. He thus deprived the Soviet Union of its mightiest weapon against Hitler, the revolutionary class struggle of the European working class.

Not a word has the Kremlin issued to arouse and guide the masses of Germany and the occupied countries to revolutionary combat against Nazi imperialism. All the explosive powers of revolt contained in the peoples ground under Hitler's heel are being dissipated for lack of leadership and organization, while the Kremlin remains silent for fear of offending its "democratic" allies.

The conclusion is inescapable:

Unless there is a change in policy, the Soviet Union is doomed.

Unless the USSR ceases to stake everything on aid from the imperialists, and issues a revolutionary appeal to the workers of the world, including Germany, the workers state faces disaster.

The doors of Stalin's dungeons must be opened to release the tens of thousands of pro-Soviet elements now deprived of their right to defend the Soviet Union. These pro-Soviet elements — who have proved their loyalty and ability in the Civil War of 1918-20 and in the construction of Soviet industry — can make up, at least in part, for the present fatal lack of leadership.

The democratically-elected soviets must be revived to give the masses initiative, reinvigorate their morale and organize them for the revolutionary defense of the workers' state.

Above all, the Soviet Union must rally the masses of Europe for proletarian revolutionary struggle around the only banner which can have hope or meaning for them in this epoch of the death agony of world capitalism:

For the Socialist United States of Europe!

This is the only herald of salvation for the Soviet Union.

GREEN WILL SUPPORT WAR TO 'BITTER END'

(Continued from page 1)

vention in New Orleans last year on the matter of driving the racketeers out of the AFL. Last year the convention passed a resolution which limited itself solely to "deploring" the situation.

A statement of the Executive Council last Monday declared that it "disavowed and repudiated" racketeering in all forms, but reiterated its stand of last year that the AFL council could not "interfere in the administrative affairs of an autonomous international organization."

RACKETEERING ISSUE

It is, of course, a well-known fact that the reason racketeers continue to thrive in the AFL is because they are one of the main props of the AFL leadership. In order to rid the unions of racketeers it is necessary to have trade-union democracy, which enables the rank and file themselves to oust crooks and hoodlums from the ranks of labor organizations.

But democracy is the last thing which the Greens, Tobins, Wolls, Freys, et al, want in the AFL. And so they will continue to play ball with the racketeers who support them in power.

The Executive Councils statement on racketeering complained:

"Some columnists and labor-hating newspaper publishers demand that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be dictators, and punish men, regardless of law and lawful procedure, who they believe are guilty of the commission of crimes.

"They demand that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be dictators when they feel said officers should be dictators, but denounce them if they assume dictatorial powers."

DON'T WANT TO BE "DICTATORS"

While it is true that the boss papers raise the question of labor racketeering in order to discredit the union movement, nevertheless it is the obligation of honest union leaders to expose and help drive out the racketeers.

This self-righteous disclaimer of any desire to be "dictators" : laughable. Put forth by a person like Tobin, who arbitrarily sets up personal receiverships over local unions of the Teamsters and attempts to oust by flat any local leaders who oppose his policies such as the in case of Local 544, this "rejection" of "dictatorship" is nothing but a piece of hypocritical effrontery.

Moreover, Green, Tobin and Co. have never failed to play the role of "dictator" when it come to ousting honest, militant unionists at the request of these same anti-labor boss newspapers.

Confronted with the specific case of George E. Browne, president of the Stage Employees and Motion Picture Operators Union, who is one of the most vicious racketeers in the union movement, the AFL Executive Council has taken a completely cowardly position.

Browne, as a vice-president of the AFL, has been one of the pillars of the Executive Council. His criminal activities have been known all along to his AFL colleagues.

Browne is now on trial in New York on extortion charges. The case against him is so bad that the AFL tops are now forced to disassociate themselves from him.

EVADING THE ISSUE

The devious means they intend to employ to rid themselves of the compromising Browne, is by reducing the number of posts on the Executive Council from 15, to 13, with Browne being dropped.

The official explanation of this move is not that the AFL leaders find it expedient to rid themselves of the stench of their association with Browne, but that, as Tobin stated, it would "result in greater efficiency." It seems, that since the Council was expanded from eight to 15 in 1934 they have had difficulty in "getting a quorum."

The continued prominence of the racketeering issue in the AFL is in marked contrast to the situation in the CIO, where the question of racketeering has never had to be raised.

The only debate so far occurred over the recommendation of the Council to reduce the per-capita tax of two cents paid to the AFL treasury to 1½ cents for unions with over 300,000 members.

Representatives of the smaller unions protested this discriminatory action arguing that this represented a move on the part of the leaders of the big unions to further extend their rigid control over the AFL.

WHY TOBIN WANTS REDUCED PER-CAPITA

Tobin took the floor to support the per-capita tax amendment — his union and the Carpenters are the only unions large enough to benefit by the measure — and claimed that this reduction was necessary because the AFL Teamsters are "fighting on every front in the country" against "subversive elements, not real union leaders but men with drunken, blind ambitions."

Tobin was obviously speaking of the growing revolt in the ranks of his union against his racketeering dictatorship. This revolt, initiated by Local 544-CIO, is beginning to make big inroads into Tobin's "kingdom" and his statement is an indication that he feels his throne tottering.

So far, not a single constructive proposal for the benefit of labor has occupied the attention of the convention. It doubtful that any will be considered, except in the most perfunctory and indecisive fashion.

The burning issues confronting labor in wartime — wage freezing, soaring prices, government intervention, anti-labor legislation, the growing assault on labor's rights — will undoubtedly be ignored or passed off in meaningless resolutions.

Help Fight The Federal Prosecution

29 people—members of the Socialist Workers Party and the leaders of Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union, Local 544-CIO have been indicted in Minnesota on charges of "conspiring to overthrow the government."

This sweeping attack upon civil liberties and labor's rights must be repelled! The job of defending the victims of this prosecution is up to the workers themselves. Roosevelt's administration isn't subsidizing this defense project.

Aid the defendants by giving promptly and generously to their Defense Fund.

SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS TO:

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The Government prosecution has been condemned by the

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Subscriptions have been coming in slowly this week. This is no doubt due to the fact that most of the party's leading activists have been attending the party's plenum-conference in Chicago.

This week, however, we expect the party members, spurred on by an inspiring conference, to send in so many new subs that we'll have a hard time handling the increased mailing. But we won't mind that problem at all.

The record for our previous sub drives during the past period was so excellent that it leaves no doubt in our minds that the party will rise to the occasion in the present drive to obtain 500 subs. After getting nearly 2,000 subs at the beginning of the year, the party should find this new quota a cinch.

This week we received a very encouraging letter from the South. Our MILITANT agent in Memphis, Tennessee, reports the increasing interest with which the MILITANT is being received among white as well as negro trade unionists.

Until recently, the bulk of our readers in Memphis have been Negro workers who, because of their special exploitation, have been more responsive to our ideas.

"Several militant white CIO boys are reading the paper regularly now," our Memphis correspondent reports. "One, a boatman, who is seldom in town gets a paper from me whenever he is in town. Another, who is very active in the CIO and seldom has much time to talk, always asks me if I have a paper whenever he sees me. The last time I saw him, he was talking to a group and preparing to start a union meeting, but stopped to come over and ask me if I had some INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZERS which he wanted to give out to truck drivers, and to get a MILITANT."

If our people in the terror-ridden South can get such a good response to our paper, surely, in the comparatively freer atmosphere of the North and West, our comrades should have no great difficulty in spreading the voice of the party and selling more subs.

DO YOU HAVE A SUBSCRIPTION? LOOK FOR OUR SPECIAL OFFER

Our Party's Guide To Immediate Action

Text Of The SWP Plenum Resolution On "The Federal Prosecution And The Present Tasks Of The Party"

Resolution Adopted by the Plenum-Conference of the Socialist Workers Party, Oct. 11-12, 1941, in Chicago, Ill.

The prosecution launched against our party by the Roosevelt administration can be understood in all its ramifications only in the light of the historical situation of the American imperialists whom Roosevelt serves.

The American bourgeoisie has virtually dragged the unwilling American people into the war. Roosevelt's real war aims are expressed not in his deceitful 8-point program, that shriveled caricature of Wilson's 14 points, but in the recent declaration by Secretary of Navy Knox that Anglo-American imperialism must police the world "for the next hundred years." Roosevelt's aim of world conquest, like Hitler's, is not a sign of strength but a mark of the desperate plight of world capitalism and of every one of its component national states. The gigantic development of the forces of production is driving all the imperialists to goals which lie beyond their power of attainment. Hitler and Roosevelt are attempting to establish their sway over a decomposing capitalist system — a system torn by incessant imperialist conflicts, shaken by colossal social convulsions and headed for economic ruin and catastrophe.

The permanent perspective of monopoly capitalism is war. Until now capitalism evolved through periods of peace punctuated by occasional wars; henceforth intervals of peace, if any, will merely punctuate the continual clashes of the imperialist powers. None of the imperialist rulers have any faith in their future. Hence their desperate methods of crushing every form of opposition at home. Fascist terror is not an Italian or German weapon; the American bourgeoisie will likewise attempt to resort to it. The wartime repressions against the labor movement will prove to be not temporary expedients dictated by wartime conditions, but the forerunner of dictatorial and fascist movements of the American bourgeoisie.

It is in the light of this perspective — the perspective of an epoch of wars and revolutions — that we must consider the problems which confront the party as a result of the Federal prosecution.

THE PROSECUTION AND THE DEFENSE

1. This prosecution arises immediately out of the federal government's intervention on the side of AFL Teamsters' Chief Daniel Tobin against Local 544-CIO. But the Minneapolis drivers and Tobin clashed in the first place over the refusal of the Trotskyist leadership of Local 544 to go along with Tobin in subordinating the trade union movement to the war program of the Roosevelt administration. Thus the government's "intervention" is on its own behalf. This blow against our party is but the first of many to come against every section of the labor movement which resists the reactionary consequences of the government's war program. We are the first to be attacked because we are the only genuine anti-capitalist party and therefore the only genuine anti-war party. The object is to drive the party into illegality and, if possible, to silence it.

The policy of the party in defending itself in court, obligatory for all party members under indictment, can only be one that is worthy of our movement and our tradition: no attempt to water down or evade our revolutionary doctrine, but on the contrary, to defend it militantly. At the same time we maintain that we have a legal right under the Bill of Rights to propagate our principles.

2. The legal defense in court and in the arena of public opinion is strengthened by the fact that both the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO and all the defendants have agreed to the launching of a broad defense campaign by the Civil Rights Defense Committee. Such a united defense will obviate many difficulties. It will dramatize the fundamental connection between the rights of our party and the democratic rights of the trade union movement.

3. Despite this prosecution and others which may follow, our party will not surrender its right to function as a legal party. The Plenum Conference emphasizes to all party members the fundamental importance of a determined fight for the party's legality. The question of whether the party is legal or illegal will not be settled for us by a conviction in this Minnesota case.

4. One of the main methods of defending the party's legality is to participate wherever possible in **elections.** The excellent election campaigns at present being conducted by our New York and Newark organizations are an example of what can be done in this period. We must record the fact that too often in the past we have neglected electoral activity. We must now give **primary** attention to participating under our own name and with our own candidate in election fights. This will serve not only to bring our program before the masses, but render more difficult the government's attempt to repress us.

INTERNAL PREPARATION OF THE PARTY

5. An intensive campaign is required for the internal preparation of the party to withstand the blow of the federal prosecution. The only people who can stand up under this kind of governmental pressure are people who have an historical outlook and a profound understanding of what they are fighting for. Mere activism, sometimes sufficient for day to day work, is not enough to stand up under the blows of persecution. We have on this score the negative example of the I.W.W. cadres after the last war. Out of 150 or more I.W.W. men who went to Leavenworth, only a small handful retained their activity in the movement afterward. This was not because they were poor material; they were genuine militants, very courageous people. But they lacked the theoretical equipment to comprehend the complexities of the war situation. The philosophy of the I.W.W. proved inadequate to sustain them and they fell by the wayside. The difference between a trade union militant and a politically educated Trotskyist is immeasurable; it is qualitative. The best of yesterday's trade union militants are today succumbing under the pressure of the war situation. Only those will survive who are not only rooted in the working class movement but who have the Marxist outlook to see beyond the present difficulties to the new horizons.

6. The revolutionary party, in order to successfully meet all serious tests, requires such an education of the party members and such a selection of its leading people that the party can remain firm under all conditions. This requires high standards for party membership: standards of activity, of discipline, of financial contributions, of devotion to learning the history and theory of the movement, etc. It requires even higher standards for its leading staff. The party which aims at the conquest of power for the socialist transformation of society cannot operate with casual members and dilletante members. Members and leaders alike must conduct themselves as **disciplined soldiers** in the army of the proletarian revolution. Leaders must set the example of communist devotion, loyalty and discipline.

Systematic education of the party is dictated by the needs for new party leadership. New cadres may have to take the place of imprisoned comrades. The new opportunities open to the party demand an expansion of the leadership of the party. Given new responsibilities, comrades hitherto unnoticed will prove themselves worthy of positions of leadership. Under the test of fire, new leaders will come forward.

7. The Plenum-Conference calls the attention of all party members to the necessity for systematic political work and recruiting for the party in the factories, the shops and in the unions. In the previous period we have successfully carried through an extensive movement in the party to integrate our young comrades in industry and in the unions. In that period of penetration into the factories and unions, it was necessary to caution young comrades not to be too precipitate in their party-political activity until they had firmly established themselves in their new environment. This campaign has been carried through successfully. We have radically changed the character of the composition of the party. Today we can say that the average member of the party is a trade unionist. However, having succeeded in integrating themselves into industry, and the trade union movement, our comrades are now entering a new stage in their work. A type of activity that does not rise above trade union levels cannot be a permanent task. Once the comrades are integrated in the unions they must begin serious and systematic party-political work.

Mere trade union work, in itself, does not amount to much — especially in this epoch of wars and revolutions. We have to begin recruiting for the party. This can only be done if the party fractions work systematically and regularly. There are no exceptions to this law. All comrades, wherever there are two or more together, must work as a fraction. The aim of fraction work is not merely the working out of positions on the "high politics" of the unions but, more concretely, the task of teaching fellow workers and union brothers the principles and great goal of communism and recruiting them into the party.

AGAINST CONCILIATION WITH RENEGADES

8. Our party must be absolutely unrelenting in its warfare against any existing or arising centrist groups (Shachtmanites, etc.) Lenin, never much of a unity shouter, became especially intransigent during the first world war as the fundamental cleavage between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks revealed itself more clearly. So now must we maintain the cohesion of the genuine revolutionists during this war. Trotsky said the fight between the proletarian majority of the party and the petty-bourgeois opposition was similar in many respects to the historical struggle between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks in the Russian movement. In justice to the Russian Mensheviks, Trotsky also said, they appear as revolutionary heroes in comparison with the wretched faction of Burnham, Shachtman and Co.

We must educate cadres who are not afraid of isolation and who do not seek fictitious strength through numbers at the expense of programmatic clarity. There are many members of the party who did not live through the experiences of our intransigent programmatic fight in isolation (1928-1934). That isolation was dictated by the necessity to consolidate the revolutionary nucleus on the basis of a program. Ill-considered "unity" maneuvers could only have compromised this basic task. The Lovestoneites in those years approached us again and again for "united fronts", "common action", etc., as a bridge to unity. Had we united with these rightward-moving centrists in the illusory hope of gaining strength by numbers, our forces would have been weakened, not strengthened. When actual opportunities for unity on a sound basis did occur, with the American Workers Party (1935) and with the left wing of the Socialist Party (1936-1937) we proved able, thanks to our programmatic firmness, to take full advantage of the opportunities to strengthen the revolutionary ranks. This can be the case also in the future with groups of Stalinist workers who turn toward the revolutionary road. The condition for a fruitful intervention on our part in a revolutionary development among the Stalinist workers, or the political awakening of any other group of serious workers, is the prohibition in our own ranks of any sentiment of conciliation toward the degenerate petty-bourgeois clique of Shachtman and Co.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM

9. The struggle against the imperialist war overshadows all other questions. The country is being maneuvered into war by the American imperialists and their government, and the labor bureaucracy is successfully throttling any mass labor opposition. Revolutionary Marxism has always recognized that the struggle against imperialist war is identical with the struggle against capitalism, and that the only way to do away with war is to do away with the capitalist order. This fundamental conception is confirmed by the way in which, despite the desires of the overwhelming majority of the country, the capitalist regime is succeeding in dragging the country into war. Only by the overthrow of capitalism, by the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government, can this country be led out of the war to a peace based on socialism.

10. Our Proletarian Military Policy, adopted by our last Plenum-Conference (September 23-27, 1940) will provide the practical basis for agitation when "shooting war" begins. To the demand of the chauvinists in the labor movement that the country must be defended against fascism, we answer that the best way to defend the working class against both foreign and domestic fascists is through military training under control of the trade unions. We do not place any trust in the "anti-fascist" pretensions of the capitalist government. Only the working class can smash fascism. We do not trust the reactionary officer caste. We demand federal appropriations for military training camps to be operated under the control of the trade unions, and special officers' training camps operated under the control of the trade unions where workers can be trained as officers. Our Proletarian Military Policy serves to educate the workers, to bridge the gap between their present confused but anti-fascist sentiments and our program for the extirpation of fascism and its capitalist roots. The Plenum-Conference instructs the National Committee to republish in pamphlet form our Resolution and other published material on Proletarian Military Policy and to conduct a systematic agitation to popularize it.

TASKS IN THE TRADE UNIONS

11. As the war develops, ever more significant will become the struggle for **the independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state** and the struggle for **trade union democracy.**

Throughout the world, in all the capitalist countries during the period since the first World War, we have seen a "growing together" of the state with the trade unions. Whether "neutral", Social-Democratic, Stalinist, or Anarchist, the trade union leadership has adapted itself to the capitalist state and seeks its cooperation. In the eyes of the trade union bureaucracy, the chief task of the unions lies in the utopian program of "freeing" the capitalist state from the embrace of capitalism and pulling the state over to the side of the labor bureaucracy. This has happened also in America, to both the CIO and AFL. Through the NLRB, the National Defense Mediation Board, federal conciliators, etc., close links have been forged between the state power and the trade union bureaucracy. An integral part of this tendency are the steps taken jointly by the government and the labor bureaucracy to wipe out in the unions all forms of trade union democracy and to expel all revolutionists from the unions. These are the only conditions under which monopoly capitalism, with its centralized command both in economic life and government, can permit the continued existence of the trade unions. Thus the struggle for independence of the trade unions and for trade union democracy becomes increasingly a struggle which only the revolutionist can lead.

The trade unions of our time can either serve as instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. No third alternative is open to the trade unions in this epoch. The neutrality of the trade unions toward the capitalist state is completely and irretrievably a thing of the past, gone together with traditional bourgeois democracy.

The struggle in the trade unions is essentially a struggle for influence over the working class. Despite the tendency toward degeneration of the trade unions and their 'growing together' with the imperialist state, our work within the trade unions becomes even more important than before. For the trade unions remain the main arena in which the revolutionist can contend with the agents of the bourgeoisie for the leadership of the working class. The agents of the bourgeoisie cannot but appear henceforth as exponents of state domination of the unions and opponents of trade union democracy. We become the banner bearers for the freedom of the unions and for workers' democracy within the unions. Precisely because monopoly capitalism is less and less willing to reconcile itself to the independence of trade unions, the labor agents of monopoly capitalism will become less and less able to maintain their influence over the great masses in the unions. That is why we shall succeed in proving our right to the leadership of the trade unions as defenders of trade union independence and trade union democracy.

FOR DEFENSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

12. Our struggle against the war program of American imperialism and its consequences is already meeting with interest and response in the ranks of the Stalinists. The catastrophic consequences of Stalinist leadership in the Nazi-Soviet war must increase the present ferment among the workers hitherto influenced by Stalinism. The Stalinist move toward a united front with Hillman and the AFL bureaucracy against all opponents of Roosevelt's war program is extremely distasteful to the many Communist Party militants who see no reason to change their opinion about Hillman, William Green and Co. The further consequences of the Roosevelt war program — strike-breaking, attempts to place a ceiling on wages, priorities unemployment, etc. — will make the Stalinist line increasingly repugnant to the thousands of genuine militants whom the Communist party still has within its ranks. These militants will find in us, if we only take the trouble to reach them, the revolutionary alternative to the Stalinist betrayal.

13. Our program for revolutionary defense of the Soviet Union has made its way into the Stalinist ranks despite all the frantic attempts of the Kremlin's hirelings to portray us as enemies of the Soviet Union. Only our program explains to the perplexed Stalinist workers why, despite all the heroism and the superior morale of the Red Army and Soviet masses, the Nazi war machine has continued to win victories over the Soviet Union. Trotsky's analysis explains to these workers how Stalin beheaded the Red Army and left the Soviet Union leaders in industry and agriculture; every day's headlines only confirm the Trotskyist contention that Stalinism is incapable of defending the Soviet Union. Only our analysis of the anti-revolutionary character of Stalinism explains to the workers why the Kremlin has refused to arouse the masses of Europe and undermine Hitler in Germany by the revolutionary weapons which Lenin and Trotsky so successfully employed in 1917-1920.

When the workers now under Stalinist influence realize the extent of the continuous defeats sustained by the Soviet Union, there is great danger that they will fall into despair and passivity, for they will be unable to explain to themselves why the workers state is unable to defend itself successfully against a fascist regime. Unless these workers are reached in time by us, their disillusionment may lead them to drop out of the revolutionary movement altogether. We have the urgent task of saving these workers for the revolutionary movement by preparing them ideologically in due time.

14. Our program for the revolutionary defense of the Soviet Union has been confirmed not only against the Stalinists, but also against all the petty-bourgeois renegades who denied the Soviet Union its character as a workers state and who refused to defend it. The unparalleled morale with which the Red Army and the Soviet Union masses rallied to the defense of the workers state can only be explained by our analysis of the class character of the Soviet Union. The Soviet masses, despite the oppression which they are under from the Kremlin bureaucracy, proved to be wiser politically than the "cultured" petty-bourgeois snobs who abandoned the Soviet Union; the masses were able to distinguish between the Soviet Union and Stalinism even if the Eastmans, Hooks, Burnhams and Shachtmans did not. The Soviet masses threw themselves into the struggle against the Nazi war machine as no "democratic" country — France, England, Czechoslovakia, Norway, etc. — has been able to. The Soviet masses understood that Hitler was attacking, not merely the Kremlin, but the nationalized property established by the October revolution. That this unprecedented upsurge of morale has proved insufficient to halt the Nazi war machine is a tragic confirmation of the fact that only under a revolutionary leadership can the workers state be saved. But if the Soviet Union should fall, that loss will only crown the crimes of the petty-bourgeois renegades who turned their backs on the Soviet Union in its hour of danger.

15. The history of the last two decades demonstrates that the American working class will have its chance to conquer state power before the rise of a mass fascist movement. The rise of fascism and its seizure of power has occurred only where the conservative labor parties (Social-Democratic and Stalinist) prevented the proletariat from utilizing a revolutionary situation. But first came revolutionary situations in Italy (1919-1921) and Germany (1918-19, 1923-24, 1929-31). Only when the workers' parties failed to lead society out of the impasse did it become possible for the fascists to recruit mass movements with which to crush the workers' organizations. This is the historical law which is demonstrated by the history of this epoch of wars and revolutions.

And this law provides the answer to the question whether fascism can be prevented by the American working class. Fascism can and will be prevented by the building of a strong revolutionary party able to to utilize the revolutionary opportunity. That is the great historic task of the Socialist Workers Party. We shall have our chance. And we shall not miss it.

Plenum Greetings Sent To Natalia Trotsky

The following is the message of solidarity sent to Natalia Sedov Trotsky in Coyoacan, Mexico, by the National Plenum-Conference of the Socialist Workers Party, meeting October 11-12 in Chicago, Illinois:

"We are closing this evening the best attended and most enthusiastic conference in our history. The unanimous vote on the political resolution which is based on the life teachings of Comrade Leon Trotsky expressed our firm unity. As we successfully conclude our work, we send you our warmest comradely greetings.

C. CHARLES, Chairman of Session,
Plenum-Conference
Socialist Workers Party"

Plenum-Conference Inspires Party Ranks

(Continued from page 1)

tion Press Fund, amounting to $13,000, to be collected through subscriptions from the branches.

TO HOLD REFERENDUM ON DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

A revised draft of the Declaration of Principles was presented by the National Committee for the consideration of the Conference. The Conference did not take final action on the draft but adopted the N.C.'s recommendation to submit the draft as amended to a discussion and referendum vote by the party membership.

It was recalled that a special Convention in New York last December had revoked the Declaration of Principles after the passage of the reactionary Voorhis Act and that the National Committee had been instructed to prepare a revised draft.

In the new draft, the Declaration was strengthened and improved, brought up to date in the light of recent events and included the last great theoretical contributions of Comrade Leon Trotsky on the transition program, labor party, military policy, and the tasks of militants in the labor movement in the period of imperialist war.

Although the party had been forced by reactionary legislation to disaffiliate from the Fourth International which it had helped to create as the world party of socialist revolution, the new Declaration of Principles reaffirms the Party's adherence to the principles of internationalism and solidarity with the workers of the world.

ENCOURAGING REPORT ON AID FROM CRDC

The political resolution adopted by the Conference pointed out that the legal defense of the 28 defendants in the Minneapolis trial has been greatly strengthened "by the fact that both the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544-CIO and all the defendants have agreed to the launching of a broad defense campaign by the Civil Rights Defense Committee."

This was verified in an informational report to the delegates on the campaign for the defendants being conducted by the Civil Rights Defense Committee and the growing response it was receiving in trade union and liberal circles especially.

Not only have a large number of prominent individuals joined the National Committee and local branches of the defense movement, and not only is the American Civil Liberties Union co-operating with the Civil Rights Defense Committee on this case, but also a large number of trade unions and trade union leaders have expressed their solidarity with the defendants by giving, and pledging to give more, material and financial support to their defense.

In the opening session, the Plenum-Conference sent a telegram to Clara Dunne, widow of Grant Dunne, expressing the sorrow of the delegates at his death and their desire to aid and comfort her who had been "the lifelong companion of our fallen comrade."

In the concluding session, another telegram was sent to Comrade Natalia Sedov Trotsky, in which the delegates conveyed their revolutionary greetings and pledged to carry forward the struggle for socialism.

REASON FOR THE HIGH MORALE

The delegates and visitors who sat through the sessions of the Conference left with a feeling of unqualified confidence in the future of the party and its ability to cope with the great tasks before it. This feeling was not the result of "pep talks" or extravagant overestimations of the party's forces and influence, for there was no trace of either in the entire Conference. On the contrary, everyone present understood that a serious fight was ahead, and that the forces arrayed against the party are powerful, determined and vicious.

The spirit of revolutionary optimism permeated all the proceedings and all the discussion. For the delegates knew that the Socialist Workers Party represents the future society while its enemies represent the bankruptcy of the present capitalist order; that it has the only correct program for fighting against war and fascism, and that it has already collected together under its banner a group of serious men and women who hesitate at no personal sacrifices to carry out that program for the liberation of mankind.

The coming months, they knew, would provide the test for the American Trotskyist movement. They were confident that the party would rise and meet that test in the best revolutionary tradition, and then move forward, with increased support and respect from the working class, to the final struggle for socialism.

C. P. Backs La Guardia

(Continued from page 1)

has taken its place where it has always rightly belonged, — openly in the camp of the boss class — the workers of New York can have no doubt about which candidate supports the interests of labor and represents the independent class program of the workers. He is James P. Cannon, our Trotskyist Anti-War nominee for mayor.

A Farewell To Grant Dunne --Worker-Warrior

"We Shall Write His Name On The Banner Of His Union And His Party", Says Dobbs In Funeral Address

(Speech of Farrell Dobbs, National Labor Secretary, S.W.P., at the funeral of Grant Dunne, Minneapolis, October 7, 1941).

Grant John Dunne was born June 21, 1893, on a farm east of Little Falls, Minnesota. He went through eighth grade in a one-room schoolhouse in the country. Soon after the turn of the century the Dunne family moved to Minneapolis. Grant went to South High school for one year, and then, like so many sons of the working class, had to forego schooling and go to work. He got his first job as a bill clerk for the Railway Express company. During the next few years he held various jobs in Minneapolis.

On February 6, 1918, he was married to Clara Houck. They had four sons, Claire, John, Richard and Russell. Five months after his marriage Grant was inducted into the 3rd Pioneer Infantry, and one month later he found himself in the front-line trenches in France.

His first great lesson in life he learned from the imperialist war, which broke up his life, took him from his wife who was with their first son, and propelled him, untrained, into the maelstrom of war. Grant served in the front line at the Argonne sector from September 26, 1918, to the Armistice.

On the very eve of the Armistice he was transporting munitions to the front lines when he was caught with other soldiers in a terrific explosion at an ammunition dump. Grant sustained a severe case of shellshock. He was hospitalized in France and brought back to the United States on a stretcher.

On October 21, 1919, Grant was released from Fort Snelling with an honorable discharge. His recovery from his war wounds was slow, and he suffered many relapses, especially in the last year of his life when the existence of another World War brought back to him the sufferings he saw and experienced in the first World War.

In 1920 he obtained employment as an office worker in Minneapolis. He was very conscious of the fact that his lack of formal schooling was a handicap, and he took up the task of self-education. Discovering a talent for figures, he immersed himself in the study of mathematics. Later he entered the construction industry, working his way up to the post of executive secretary of a large construction firm, then serving the firm as branch manager in St. Louis and Washington, D. C. Still later, he was employed as an expert estimator with a plumbing supply company in St. Louis, where his expert knowledge of the industry was frequently consulted by others.

A Victim of Capitalism, in Peace and War

Then came the economic crash of 1929. Grant, like millions of other persons, was thrown into the ranks of the unemployed. In 1918 he had been a victim of the first imperialist World War. In 1929 he became an economic victim of that same system that brought about the First and Second World Wars. He searched everywhere for work, but no work was to be found.

In 1931 he brought his family back to Minneapolis. Their savings were gone. The family went on relief.

How did it come about that he and millions of others wanted to work but could find no work to perform? Grant asked himself this question. He again applied himself to study. He found the system of capitalism to be responsible for the great ills of mankind. He found the answer in the working-class movement. He came to understand the need for trade unions and for trade union struggle. He came to see the necessity for working-class political action. Fearlessly he threw himself into the task of building the union movement, of strengthening the workers' political movement. He devoted the remainder of his years to these tasks. He helped other workers find the solution to their problems.

In 1933 Grant finally landed a job as coal driver. He applied his knowledge. He was one of the pioneers who helped launch the campaign to organize the Minneapolis drivers, who helped build that organization which later came to be known as Local 544.

A Fearless Fighter for Labor

There is scarcely a worker in the city of Minneapolis today who can compare his present wages and conditions with those existing in 1933, without realizing that he has bettered himself to some extent, in some way, thanks to the far-reaching results of the work of Local 574 and later Local 544. The great drivers' strikes of 1934 drove the Citizens Alliance back into the shadows and lifted the workers to their feet. Grant played a big part in the successful organization of the drivers. Seldom in the forefront, so far as the public was concerned, Grant made heavy contributions to his union. He served it as a skillful organizer. He was especially versatile in committee work. He played a brilliant role in presenting testimony on the workers' movement and the needs of the workers and the unemployed, to various governmental bodies in Washington. For years he served the Federal Workers Section as its assistant from the General Drivers Union.

Grant would always rise to his fullest stature at the time when his organization was facing its greatest crises.

In the summer of 1934, when Governor Olson's national guards were on the streets of Minneapolis, were turning loose the trucks with military permits, were breaking our strike, raiding our strike headquarters, arresting our leaders and our pickets, Grant more than any other person helped turn the tide of battle. He appeared before the governor and before the colonels, forcing the release of the arrested union leaders, forcing the guardsmen to evacuate the union headquarters.

All during these years Grant suffered periodically from his war wounds. Often it was hard and sometimes impossible for him to function.

Grant did the greatest individual service for me that anyone ever performed. He picked me out from behind a coal pile in 1933, where I was shoveling coal for 35c an hour, bewildered and confused by life. Grant set my feet on the high road of the workers' political movement.

Grant Dunne's Greatest Contribution

Grant has started hundreds of other workers on this same path, the only path that leads to the ultimate solution of all our major problems. Grant has opened the eyes of hundreds to the realities of our economic and political system. Through these men Grant Dunne will continue to serve the workers' movement until the final victory is won. This is his greatest contribution to humanity.

In recent years, Grant has seen the world again enveloped in another bloody war caused by the forces of imperialism. He has seen the heavy hands of Roosevelt press on the working-class, smashing at every element of militancy in the movement, driving the masses into war.

Grant had seen the deep injustices committed against his union by Governor Stassen. He had observed the jackal role played by Tobin, betraying the workers as he always has.

Grant saw all the young men of the present generation being shoved into the maw of the war machine. He saw the Roosevelt administration lashing out against the union that Grant belonged to and against the party, the Socialist Workers Party, that Grant belonged to. He saw himself one of the victims of the vicious witch hunts that always precede and accompany imperialist war. The government and the union bureaucrats were persecuting, in Grant, a man who was himself a victim of the First World War.

As Grant saw the approach of America's entrance into the bloody struggle for markets and colonies and profits, he looked upon his three sons of military age. He thought of the suffering this war might bring to them, as the earlier war had brought to him. He saw his first-born, Claire, a war baby, now grown and about ready to march off to another war.

These sad burdens aggravated the wounds inflicted upon him in mind and body at the Argonne. All of this was more than he could bear.

We are gathered here to say our last farewell to Grant Dunne. We shall cherish his memory. We shall love him for the good he has done. Grant gave all that he had to give to the cause that meant more to him than life itself. He risked his life many times without giving it a second thought. He was a good fighter.

We shall write his name on the banner of his union and his party. And here at his funeral let us strike up once again the forward march to carry that banner onward — in spite of everything — to the final victory of the workers and the free world of emancipated labor.

SWP Sends Expression of Sympathy to Clara Dunne

The following is the message of condolence wired to Clara Dunne, widow of Grant Dunne, by the National Plenum-Conference of the Socialist Workers Party held in Chicago last weekend:

"As we mobilize for the struggle against the Roosevelt-Tobin persecution, we honor the memory of Grant Dunne, proletarian warrior who fell victim to capitalist persecution. We share your sorrow and grieve with your four sons who have lost their father. We stand ready to do all we can to comfort and help you who have been the lifelong companion of our fallen comrade."

Canadian Labor Fights War Repression

Strike Struggles Answer Attempts of Boss Government to Beat Down Workers' Unions

CANADA — Despite the growing severity of government attempts at repression, in the past six months Canadian labor has made notable headway in cracking the boss front. Strikes are flaring up and spreading. The Canadian workers are once again, as in the days of the Winnipeg Soviets after the last war, awakening to their power. The tremendous demand for labor to operate the new British-American subsidized war industries has given the workers a new morale and confidence after ten years of unparalleled unemployment and misery.

Thousands of workers hitherto untouched by unionism are being organized. This development is especially significant because it is occurring during war-time, in the face of the patriotic lynch campaign of the bosses and the rigorous anti-labor measures of the government.

The workers of Arvida, St. Catherines, Hamilton, Nova Scotia, and elsewhere, who have been on strike within the recent period, have no constitutional guarantees of any sort to protect them, such as the Bill of Rights is supposed to afford the workers in the United States. Although the American government overrides the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence, as in the present prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party in Minnesota, still these documents do exist and their principles are at least formally recognized. Canadian labor has rights only to the extent that it can gain them in day-to-day struggle.

INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES ACT

Since the outbreak of the war, the Canadian government has put into effect a number of oppressive laws aimed at ham-stringing labor. One of the harshest of these is the Industrial Disputes Act now applicable to all vital services, "vital services" being interpreted to cover virtually all industry.

Not only must the workers, under this act, arbitrate before taking strike action, but they cannot even apply for arbitration before a conciliation board until they do take a strike vote. By this device, the unions are blocked from getting any consideration for their demands except when they commit themselves in advance to strike action.

This compulsory procedure goes a long way toward blocking strikes. It permits the conciliation boards to dawdle and delay often three and four months in their decisions, long enough for the bosses to exert their influence to demoralize the workers, to carry out discriminatory acts against the most militant union elements, to scatter a few crumbs by way of bribing the weaker individuals and to build company unions.

Despite all this, the Canadian workers have conducted many large and militant strikes within recent months.

An example of the failure of the Industrial Disputes Act to curb militant strike action, is the case of the workers of National Steel Car, Hamilton, Ontario. These workers applied on February 3 for a board of conciliation to settle their grievances.

It was not until March 10 that the establishment of the board to handle the case was announced. Meanwhile, the company had fired a number of union members.

On April 19, the board issued an interim report recommending the reinstatement of the union local's president, pending a final award. The bosses refused the reinstatement, and the workers went out on strike April 26.

The government immediately intervened and appointed a controller over the plant. The controller reinstated the fired unionists and the strike was called off.

WON'T NEGOTIATE WITH ANY UNION

But the government controller refused to negotiate with the union, just as the employers had, in spite of a government Order-in- Council directing employers to do so.

The conciliation board, on July 2, finally issued a statement to the effect that "the controller advised the board he would not enter into any negotiations or collective bargaining with any union, but stated he would ask the employees to appoint a representative committee."

This had all the odor of an attempt to establish a company-union committee. So the workers again went out on strike. To avert further trouble, the government was forced this month to appoint a new controller and continue arbitration. But the powder keg remains primed.

The National Steel Car strike is but one of many similar strikes in industrial Ontario and Quebec, involving thousands of workers in key war industries, which have occurred over the question of union recognition.

Other bitter conflicts have resulted from the effort of the government to fix maximum wage levels. At the very outbreak of the war, the government issued an order-in-council, P. C. 7440, which declared:

"Wage rate levels established by agreement or practice in any industry or trade nationally or locally during the period 1926-29, or higher levels established thereafter but prior to the date hereof, shall be considered generally fair and reasonable, etc. . ."

FREEZING WAGES

The anti-labor character of this order was demonstrated in the dispute last spring at the Peck Rolling Mills, Montreal. These mills are owned by the Dominion Steel and Coal Corporation, which also controls most of the Nova Scotia coal mines that have been paralyzed for the past 5 months by slow-downs of gigantic proportions.

The basic pay-rate at the Peck Mills was 30.7 cents an hour, with 15 cents a day bonus. Fifty per cent of the workers were earning 32 cents an hour or less. This was in contrast with the rates of 40 to 46 cents an hour paid for the same type of work in plants of other concerns, and even in plants of the same concern in Ontario and Nova Scotia.

The conciliation board found that 32 cents an hour was higher than what was paid in the same plant in the 1926-29 period and therefore ruled against any raise in pay for the Peck Mills workers.

Sometimes, however, the government has been unable to aid the employers within the limits of this law. It then has to introduce further measures to reinforce any weak spots in its anti-labor legal armor.

This is illustrated by the government's actions in the McKinnon Industries strike at St. Catherines. The McKinnon Industries is a General Motors subsidiary, but the St. Catherines workers were receiving wages much below wages paid GM employes in the Oshawa and Windsor plants, and as much as 20 cents an hour less than workers get in GM's American plants.

After going through all the long drawn-out procedure of arbitration required by law, the St. Catherines workers went out on strike. As a result of material shortages, the Oshawa GM plant discontinued operations, laying off 5,000 workers.

MORE REPRESSIONS

The government thereupon issued a new order-in-council. This order declares that even after a conciliation board brings in findings unsatisfactory to a union, the union may not strike until the government takes a vote of **all the workers involved.** The decision on what workers are involved is left to the Department of Labor.

In the St. Catherines case, it may be held that the 5,000 workers in Oshawa, 100 miles away, are involved, and that they must first vote permission for the 3,500 St. Catherines workers to strike. Although the Minister of Labor has stated that this measure is intended to prevent one department or a small group of "malcontents" (union men) from tying up a whole plant, the order-in-council permits a much broader interpretation, which will no doubt be used against the workers. Incidentally, all workers who are absent from the voting are considered by the government as voting **against** the strike.

Severe penalties are decreed for those who do not wait to go through the labyrinth of strike prevention regulations. Anyone who is charged with "inciting" or encouraging such an illegal strike is liable to a fine of $500 or 12 months imprisonment or both.

A few months ago the General Electric workers in Toronto went on strike after vainly attempting to meet with the management. Immediately, 14 shop stewards were arrested and each fined $20 a day for the seven days of the strike, a total of $1,960. The union's president, C. Jackson, was whisked away and has been interned in a concentration camp for the duration of the war.

ALUMINUM STRIKE

9,000 workers at Arvida, employed in the largest aluminum plant in the world, recently went on strike for five days. Not a scrap of news appeared about this strike in the press, although the plant was completely shut down.

The Arvida workers escaped the penalties imposed on the General Electric workers only because the Royal Canadian Mounted Police were unable to pin responsibility for "inciting" the strike on any individuals.

At a Royal Commission held to investigate the Arvida stoppage, the RCMP was unable to substantiate an accusation of the Minister of Supply that the strike was the result of sabotage and "fifth column" activity. This was an apparently spontaneous strike, since there was no union involved. The workers in the plant took the entire initiative in the action. Moreover, it was shown that 18 per cent of the strikers had been members of the conservative National Catholic Syndicate of Aluminum Workers.

In this strike, Dominion troops from the Valcartier military camp were used against the strikers. Neither Premier Godbout of Quebec nor Minister of Justice Lapointe at Ottawa dared send in the provincial or federal police for fear of alienating the French-Canadian population by use of force against French-Canadian workers.

The Minister of Defense, acting under war-time powers, was forced to do the dirty work. The Dominion government has since passed an order-in-council permitting the use of troops in the event of a threatened curtailment of production in any war industry.

MINERS' SLOW-DOWN

The most important of all the illegal strikes continues unabated. For five months now, 10,000 miners in the Nova Scotia coal fields have been conducting a slow-down strike. Coal production has fallen 6,000 tons daily. In one colliery, daily output has been reduced from 1150 to 850 tons a day.

The government has so far proved unable to stop this slow-down. The government and the mine owners are trying to pass off this struggle as an internal union dispute and not a wage issue, because the action followed the repudiation by the miners of a contract signed by S. Barrett, International Vice President of the United Mine Workers of America. The workers had not been consulted in the negotiations nor were they permitted to ratify the contract. They have repudiated both Barrett and his contract.

The Dominion government, which in peace-time gave a $2,000,000 annual subsidy to the Nova Scotia coal operators, is aiding the Dominion Steel and Coal corporation in every way possible to keep the workers from gaining their just wage demands. The government is permitting the corporation to refuse lamps to the slow-down miners in the hope that this will provoke some form of action which would serve as an excuse to send in the troops, and impose fines and internments. On September 20, the workers of some of the collieries agreed to a 30-day truce on a promise by the government and union officials that negotiations for wage increases would be held.

CANADIAN LABOR ON THE MARCH

The Canadian bosses are working overtime to halt the growth of unionism. They have closed the border to American union organizers; organized and armed a vigilante group, The Frontiersmen; and are finger-printing the workers and trying to force them to sign yellow-dog contracts. But all in vain.

The Canadian trade union movement is growing and gaining in power. This is a development similar to that of the last war, when, from 1917 to 1919, Canadian trade union membership grew from 205,000 to 375,000.

At the annual convention of the Canadian Congress of Labor, which is the amalgamation of the Canadian CIO and All-Canadian Congress of Labor, there were 50 per cent more delegates than last year. The Trades and Labor Congress, though impeded by jurisdictional disputes and a rigid, conservative leadership, reports a similar growth. The oppressive laws, intense patriotic appeals, and the betrayals of the conservative union leaders have not been able to halt the organization of the unorganized and militant class struggles in Canada.

Canadian Gov't Deports CIO Officer

The Canadian government is all for "international solidarity" when it comes to supporting the war alliance of American and British imperialism. But its hatred of international working-class solidarity has no bounds.

The CIO NEWS, October 13, reports that CIO Vice-president Reid Robinson, head of the Int'l Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, was arrested in Toronto, Canada, while en route to address a union meeting at Kirkland Lake, and on October 9 was ordered deported from Canada.

Reid Robinson "was virtually shanghaied by Canadian immigration officials and thrown into the governor's dungeon at Toronto," reports the CIO NEWS, and adds:

"Refusing to let him communicate with his union or with a lawyer, the Canadian officials stripped and searched him, then threw him into a cell with 17 drunks."

Judge White-Washes Aluminum Trust In Government's Monopoly Suit

Capitalist Court Ignores Mountain of Evidence in Freeing Nation's Tightest Monopoly; Alcoa Controls Vital War Metal

After four years of a trial against the Aluminum Co. of America, Federal Judge F. G. Caffey has finally handed down a ruling completely white-washing this huge monopoly.

The Department of Justice had sought to "divide" Alcoa into sub-companies; but such a proposal would in no way have fundamentally changed the monopoly set-up of this vast Mellon interest. This is proved by the classic case of the so-called "division" of the Standard Oil monopoly into fake "competitive" companies; the Rockefeller interests continued to control the various "competing" groups and really strengthened their monopoly.

Judge Caffey used a flimsy legal trick of dividing the charges into 36 sections, and then crassly asserted that the vast mass of evidence against Alcoa was not definite enough on any one specific charge.

But the facts of the matter are: Alcoa, headed by Arthur V. Davis, and Aluminum, Ltd. of Canada, manned by his brother, have since their foundation in 1895 maintained a complete monopoly of raw materials, patents and water power rights for production of aluminum. They secured the passage of a tariff law to maintain their monopoly.

They own foreign aluminum companies and dominate foreign sources of bauxite (the mineral raw material of aluminum). They are a chief part of an international cartel to divide the world aluminum market between the competitors in such a way as to insure the profits of each component national company.

They have spent millions of dollars in propaganda, bribery and pressure to prevent competition, to continue control of important water power facilities. They have consistently maintained a high price for aluminum and restricted the quantity produced in order to guarantee super-profits.

Yet the tons of factual materials and testimony which were adduced to prove this were all thrown out the window by Judge Caffey. Thus the courts do service to the large monopoly-profiteers.

ONLY PROFITS INTEREST ALCOA

One of the most important aspects of this trial against Alcoa is the present shortage of aluminum which is so vital to the war production of the Roosevelt government. In the past several years, at the same time that one section of the government was trying to show that Alcoa was a monopoly, Stettinius and other "dollar-a-year" men were issuing lying statements to cover up the threatening aluminum shortage.

At a time when American capitalism is spending billions of dollars for war materials, the Alcoa policy of restricting output in order to maintain exorbitant prices and of eliminating competitors, has contributed to a disruption of the war effort.

The Truman Committee of the Senate unearthed additional information to prove this. As the liberal correspondent I. F. Stone declares:

"The testimony before the Truman Committee showed that the Defense Commission, and later the OPM, seem to have done their best to help Aluminum Company hide the true situation from the country and to prevent the government or other business concerns from going into the production of aluminum."

Stone is interested in helping the imperialist war plans as much as possible. But what is important from a working class standpoint is that the very profit-mongering handful of capitalists, which is seeking to drag the country into the imperialist war, sabotages its own war efforts by pursuing a policy of choking production in the interest of monopolistic super profits.

Just as in the case of France, where the aluminum companies were selling tons of aluminum to Germany for the production of bombing planes, so here too the big capitalists demonstrate that they are not interested in fighting fascism, but are only interested in profits for war materials, and waging the war for more profits.

Thus the action of the court in whitewashing Alcoa and its policies only gives further proof of how the big capitalists run the country and use the courts and press to do their bidding, in their own interests.

It is further proof that the only real way, the only successful way to smash fascism is for the American workers and farmers to throw out this small handful of capitalist exploiters and their agents and to establish a Workers and Farmers Government, based upon the needs of the vast majority of the American people, that would really wage a revolutionary working class war against fascism.

The 'LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX

Negro Struggle

By ALBERT PARKER

Stalinist Propaganda

Our comrades in Newark, N. J., have sent us a copy of a leaflet issued by the Communist Party in that city, entitled "A United America Can Defeat Hitler" and addressed primarily to the Negro people.

In it the Stalinists follow the example set by the warmongering politicians who have taken advantage of Lindbergh's Jew-baiting speech in Des Moines to try to make the war-mongers appear as advocates of racial equality and equal opportunity.

But, as in many other fields, the Stalinist propaganda is so crude and obvious in this leaflet, which is quite typical of most Stalinist propaganda, that it gives their game away completely.

"One look at Hitler's friends in this country shows that they are also the preachers of hatred for the Negro people. Lindbergh and his pals are spreading the phony 'racial' theories which Hitler has spread over Germany. . . It is no accident that Southern politicians like Senator Reynolds have lined up with Hitler. They see eye to eye."

Now certainly Reynolds is an enemy of the Negro people and of the whole labor movement. He has for many years been associated with the red-baiting opponents of the trade unions, and was the organizer of a super-"patriotic" movement known as the "Vindicators" which spent most of its energy whipping up attacks on foreign-born workers. But in these respects there is nothing to distinguish him from most of the other politicians from the poll-tax states of the South.

There is only one thing that distinguishes him from the other Southern congressman, and that is that he belongs to the "isolationist" group, rather than the interventionist. At the present time, he is willing, for the sake of building up a pro-American fascist movement now and after the war, to exploit the honest anti-war sentiments of the masses. He is of course no real fighter against war; he stands wholeheartedly for the preservation of the system of capitalism which causes war.

But when the Stalinists speak about Reynolds, workers will naturally ask themselves, "What about the other Southern politicians who do not pretend to be opponents of the war, who are as a matter of fact, the most rabid advocates of the war program in Washington? Where do they stand on the racial question? With whom do they see eye to eye?"

The answer, of course, is well-known to the Stalinists, who published it hundreds of times only a few months ago when they were still opposed to the Roosevelt war program.

The Warmongers And the Negroes

Who are these other Southern politicians who are howling for the war? They are, almost to a man, cut in the mold of Pepper, Dies, Connally, et al. They are men who are elected year after year only because they deny the great mass of the workers, Negro and white, the right to vote. They are the men who by threat of filibuster and other kinds of pressure have prevented any kind of anti-lynch legislation from being enacted by Congress.

Only recently, Pepper, that great advocate of a "war for democracy", arose on the floor of the United States Senate to declare:

"Whatever may be written into the Constitution, whatever may be placed upon the statute books of this nation, however many soldiers may be stationed about the ballot boxes of the Southland, the colored race will not vote."

What do the Southern warmongers think about the Jim Crow laws of the South? What do they think about the laws and customs that segregate the Negro people in jobs, in church, in the armed forces, in every economic and social sphere and excludes them completely from participation in politics?

To ask these questions is to anwer them. These pro-war Southern politicians not only strengthen and bolster segregation, but they are ready to stage another civil war if any serious attempt is made to destroy Jim Crowism. They did this long before the name of Hitler was heard of in this country. They intend to continue it long after Hitler is gone and forgotten.

These people see eye to eye with Hitler too, or perhaps it is more correct to say that Hitler sees eye to eye with them. Not on the war, it is true, but certainly on racial questions. To paraphrase the Stalinists, "one look at Hitler's" imperialist enemies "in this country shows that they are also the preachers of hatred for the Negro people." In this respect there is no difference whatever between them and men like Reynolds.

The Stalinists try to get support for the war by showing that the "isolationists" are enemies of the Negro people. That this is a false way of posing the question is shown by the fact that the interventionists are no less enemies of the Negro people.

Only we, the Trotskyists, can speak the truth on this question. We are opposed to all the enemies of the Negro people, and we don't have to try to defend any of them.

We cite their records not to win support for a reactionary position, as the Stalinists do, but to show the hypocrisy behind their protestations about democracy and racial equality, and to show how the Stalinists serve the cause of a certain section of the enemies of the Negro people.

Famous American Labor Trials

STATE OF CALIFORNIA VERSUS MOONEY AND BILLINGS

By Lydia Beidel

THOMAS J. MOONEY
WARREN K. BILLINGS

Sentenced at San Francisco in Jan., 1917, to death for Mooney and life imprisonment for Billings.

BACKGROUND OF THE CASE

In July, 1916, the United States verged on war. Wilson had been re-elected to the presidency on a pacifist program, but the American invasion of Mexico to protect American oil interests indicated the actual tendencies of the administration. Feeling for and against war naturally expressed itself strongly in class terms: strikes and lockouts; open-shop drives; flourishing business for strike-breaking agencies. The "American Plan" — a fancy term for a national open-shop policy — was pushed by boss agencies.

San Francisco was the scene of a labor upsurge. Strikes tied up the waterfront, restaurants, automobile machine shops. The Chamber of Commerce at once raised the "Red" issue and a howl went up for an assault upon labor unionism. This howl emanated loudest from the mouths of the owners of United Railroads — controllers of San Francisco traffic — and allied electric-power interests, among whose employees a campaign of union organization was going forward.

Charles M. Fickert, a profane, obscene, vicious ignoramus whose Stanford University associations had enabled him to advance from strike-breaking in the San Francisco trucking industry to the California bar, was put into office as public prosecutor by United Railroad money.

A 33-year-old left-wing labor organizer, Thomas J. Mooney, and his automobile-mechanic friend, Warren K. Billings, were militantly engaged in the organization of United Railroad's street car employees. By July, 1916, they had staged one abortive strike in their campaign.

On July 10, the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce held a notorious meeting to lay out a strategy which would smash unionism in their city. Captain Robert Dollar here delivered himself of the guiding slogan to symbolize the "noble" work: "If a law-abiding workingman is beaten up, then beat up two strikers!"

Aroused to a fever of enthusiasm by such talk, the bosses at the meeting voted to raise $1,000,000 for the cause of anti-unionism. A spectacular aspect of the plan was to be a "Preparedness Day Parade."

BASIS OF THE FRAME-UP

July 22 was chosen for the great pro-war, anti-labor parade. The provocative nature of this demonstration was recognized by everyone in the city. Liberals condemned it for its "militaristic" import; the labor unions unanimously denounced it as an "open-shop parade." Business clubs, veterans' organizations, some non-union workers and the jingoistic public officials joined the Chamber of Commerce in support of it.

Great tension and feverish excitement were whooped up and developed to a point of mass hysteria by the day of the parade. In the two weeks preceding July 22, more than 200 notes — all written by the same obviously demented person — were received by various individuals, threatening disaster and violence if the parade were held. No attempt to find the writer was made by the police.

At 1:30 P. M. the parade swung out of the Embarcadero into Market Street. At 2:06, a bomb went off at Market and Steuart Streets, killing 10 people (6 outright) and injuring 40, including on-lookers as well as paraders. The bomb was evidently a home-made instrument of relatively small force (as bombs go), but its actual composition could never be determined, for, at 3:30, the police turned a fire-hose on the street and sluiced down the sewers every speck of material evidence experts might have used to establish the origin of the bomb.

THE ARRESTS

A certain Martin Swanson, ex-Pinkerton man employed at the time of the bomb outrage as private detective for the United Railroads, had for some time had Mooney and Billings constantly shadowed. On the 23rd of July, Swanson appeared at Fickert's office and was hired as a special investigator on the Preparedness Day case.

Immediately, the tone of the horror stories about the bombing took on a new tone. "Anarchists", "fanatics," "labor terrorists" began to be featured. A huge reward was offered for the one who could do most to stop "anarchy." After several days of well-planned anti-labor hysteria-rousing, three arrests were made and it was announced that Mooney and his wife, also sought for arrest, had fled.

The arrested were Edward Nolan and Israel Weinberg, both friends of Mooney and associates in his labor activities, and Warren K. Billings, who was arrested at Lane Hospital, where Swanson knew he had an appointment (for treatment for a minor ailment). None of the arrested offered any resistance. All were held incommunicado.

Mooney and his wife, on vacation at Montesano, California, read of their having "fled arrest" as they were rowing on a river. Still dressed in bathing suits, they walked to the nearest telegraph office and wired the San Francisco chief of police of their return by the first available train. Upon their arrival in the City they were arrested without warrants and also held incommunicado.

THE TRIALS

On August 2, an indictment for nine murders each was brought against the prisoners. The trial was set for six weeks later. The newspapers increased their howl against "labor terrorists" and "anarchists," remembering suddenly that Mooney had once written an article for an anarchist paper, *The Blast*.

Billings was brought to trial first. It was expected that conviction in his case would hasten conviction for Mooney. Billings had once before been put on trial for having allegedly transported explosives on a public conveyance and had been convicted; this record was held against him now. A string of "fixed" witnesses was brought to testify; but the prosecutor, mistrusting his own case, did not ask for death although the charge was serious enough to warrant his doing so. The jury, after a few hours' deliberation returned a verdict of guilty, and Billings was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Mooney's trial began on January 3, 1917. The prosecutor, determined to get a death sentence for his prisoner, spent a good deal of time and energy building his case. A fantastic theory was concocted, involving the moving of Weinberg's taxi loaded with five persons and a suitcase full of dynamite against the stream of the parade for three-quarters of a mile, the placing of the suitcase against a wall and the rapid escape of all five criminals through a dense mass of humanity.

Although it was obvious from the testimony presented by the prosecution that every move of the two important prisoners was known to Swanson and Fickert, not one single detective took the stand to testify to the whereabouts of the men on the day of the bomb outrage.

Not only was the testimony of the witnesses for the prosecution mutually contradictory in many instances, but the people themselves who appeared to do their bit for Fickert and the Chamber of Commerce were an amazing lot: a prostitute; a convicted perjurer; the unbalanced inmate of a charity lodging house who died later with $83,000 on his person; two religious maniacs with a "gift-of-tongues"; a syphilitic convicted wife-deserter; and a weak-minded derelict who was later condemned by another court as a "psychopathic liar."

The cream of the crop, however, and the star witness for the state, was one Frank C. Oxman, an "honest Oregon cattleman" whose wide-open-weather-beaten countenance and homely drawl seemed the very essence of unimpeachable integrity. He claimed he not only saw Mooney and Billings and the rest get out of a taxi and place a suitcase against the wall of a building, but he even — with a foresight evidently peculiar to Oregon cattlemen — took the license number of the taxi; it was, "of course", Weinberg's car!

Oxman's testimony cinched the case. The jury took it and shortly returned with a verdict of guilty punishable by death by hanging.

Hardly had the echo of the sentence died when Oxman was disclosed as a perjurer of the highest order. Not only had he not seen the bombing, but he had been actually in Woodland, California until nine minutes after the explosion occurred. He had done his best to persuade a friend to perjure himself by substantiating his story but the friend had declined. It was this friend's horror at the verdict that made him denounce Oxman. The labor unions of Illinois (where the friend lived) took up the fight to disclose Oxman's criminality and led the fight to have the man tried and convicted of subornation of perjury and perjury.

Rena Mooney, Nolan and Weinberg were released finally after spending a year or more in prison without having been convicted.

WORLD PROTEST

Now began the twenty-one-year struggle of organized labor in every part of the world to open the jail door for Mooney and Billings. So loud and demonstrative a protest rose immediately upon the convictions that first the governor of California was forced to issue a reprieve of Mooney's death sentence from October to December 13, 1918 and later to commute the sentence to life imprisonment.

President Wilson was forced to intercede for clemency since the case had, as he put it, "assumed an international importance." Two government commissions were appointed to review the case and each reported that the evidence did not warrant conviction. All attempts on the part of the defense to have the case reversed or to effect a pardon met with failure. As in the Sacco and Vanzetti cases to follow, the bourgeois state machine was stubborn in its determination not to permit labor to win a victory.

THE PARDONS

By 1938 the Mooney-Billings case had become so outstanding an issue that the gubernatorial elections in California featured promises made by the candidates concerning their behavior toward the two famous prisoners if they were elected. Culbert L. Olson, who was elected, had promised that the release of American labor's two most famous living prisoners would be one of his first administrative acts. On January 7, 1939, Mooney left his prison cell, followed on October 17, by his fellow worker, Billings.

Thus did Mooney and Billings, victims of the anti-labor, pro-war bosses in World War I, finally gain their freedom on the eve of World War II.

Class Rule In Army Shows It Will Not Fight For Democracy

By A DRAFTEE

A great many draftees entered the Army with the illusion that they were going to be trained to defend democracy. They are fast learning differently, and it is the Army regime itself which is educating them to a considerable extent on this score.

The draftees are learning that the Army itself is not a democratic institution. "Discipline" is the incessant theme of the officer corps, and it is the Army's justification for attempting a totalitarian regimentation of the draftee's life.

The foundation of that bourgeois "democracy", which we are told we are preparing to defend, is freedom of expression. But freedom of expression is non-existent in the Army. That is the first thing impressed upon us when we enter the Army. Upon being inducted, we were warned against "agitators" and told to report men who are "beefing". More recently, we were instructed not to talk to "outsiders", **not even to members of our own families** about the conditions we face in camp. "It is none of their business," is the official Army viewpoint. The draftees who gave the information which formed the basis of the articles on army conditions in **Life** and other magazines have been viciously condemned by the officers.

The official army regulations are so designed as to throttle any attempt of the draftees to speak out for improved conditions. Any concerted action of this sort would result in courts martial, as a violation of the Articles of War, and the imposition of severe punishments.

OFFICERS TRY TO KEEP FACTS FROM THE PUBLIC

The officer caste is particularly fearful of any movement amongst the civilian population designed to aid the draftees. In order to prevent knowledge of existing Army conditions becoming public and thereby arousing civilian support for the draftees, the Army leaders are trying to impose a complete censorship on the draftees. We hope that the effect of this censorship will not lead the outside public to think that there is no need for such a civilian movement. There is. Along this line, I hope the MILITANT will continue its efforts to enlist the support of the trade unions. No other outside force could be of more assistance to us. Perhaps some unions could be interested in the setting up of independent committees to investigate conditions in the Army camps.

One of the restrictions which particularly galls the men here is the prohibition of the right to criticize government officials and policies. The men, however, violate this rule on every occasion. The language of the MILITANT is mild in comparison with the terms used by many draftees in denouncing the war-mongering officials. In some cases that I know of, soldiers have been thrown in the guardhouse when they made the mistake of condemning the President in the presence of officers.

A draftee violates Army regulations when he writes a letter to a Senator or Congressman complaining about conditions or protesting proposed legislation affecting his welfare. It has been one of the greatest shocks to the draftees to learn that the exercise of even this simple right of citizenship is prohibited in the Army and is punishable by severe penalties.

"EQUALITY" IN ARMY

The totalitarianism of the Army extends not only to what we may not speak about or listen to, but also to what we must listen to. We are compelled to listen to certain types of political propaganda, and in the same fashion as Hitler compels the German people to listen to his propaganda. I have reference specifically to the fact that we were forced to listen to a radio broadcast by the Secretary of War on the occasion of the extension of the draft term.

Another one of the basic democratic principles which is violated in the Army is that which declares "all men are created free and equal." The MILITANT has already presented a wealth of evidence as to the criminal treatment of Negroes in this army of "democracy". There also is a caste division set up between the white officers and the white soldiers. There are rigid rules concerning the saluting of officers and prohibiting soldiers and officers drinking together or having any social relations, all designed to create "discipline".

That the Army must employ such measures is proof in itself that the officials know that the draftees cannot be disciplined by the only effective means, the conviction that they are fighting in a cause which is in their interests.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC. REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

Of THE MILITANT published weekly at New York, New York for October 1, 1941. State of New York County of New York.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Lydia Beidel, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the business manager of the MILITANT and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

Publisher THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSO., 116 University Place.

Editor FELIX MORROW

Business Manager LYDIA BEIDEL

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and address of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given).

MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION, 116 University Place.

FELIX MORROW, 116 University Pl.

LYDIA BEIDEL, 116 University Place.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)

NONE.

4. That the two paragraphs next above giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

LYDIA BEIDEL, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30 day of September 1941.

IRVING SCHEER, Notary Public. (My commission expires March 30 1942).

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opens on

Sunday, October 19, at 3 P. M.

JAMES P. CANNON

National Secretary, SWP

speaking on

WHY ARE WE ON TRIAL?

at

919 MARQUETTE AVENUE, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Admission 10c

Petty Bourgeois Opposition Shows Its Bankruptcy

By JACK WEBER

It would be hard to find a more bewildered group of individuals today than those who split away from the Socialist Workers Party to form their own little organization, the so-called Workers Party. The September issue of their theoretical organ, the **New International**, contains a "Manifesto" on the War in Russia. We call attention to it here in order to illustrate once again the utter political bankruptcy which results when events catch up with utterly false theories.

You will look in vain for any explanation of the war in terms of "Russian imperialism", or Stalinist "imperialism", the "idea" that motivated this group to form its own party. Forced to recognize the most obvious facts, the manifesto waxes almost lyrical concerning the fight of the masses against fascism. This, we are told takes place in spite of Stalin and all his works. But the Lebruns and Co. are not to be moved!

The main question that faces every conscious political person at the present time is: what stand should be taken on the war? In a manifesto devoted to the war in Russia, surely one would expect a simple, clear answer to this simple clear question. In truth, however, the manifesto is written precisely with an eye to evading this question, and to suit all-comers.

"Whatever may be the end of the Russo-German war, the regime of the Stalinist burocracy is doomed. Russian victory against Hitler would only be made possible by a profound revolution of the masses and the consequent restoration of the conquests of October and of the rights and benefits to the Russian working class that the Bolshevik revolution sought to give them in its beginning." And prior to this statement we have: "In the Soviet Union, more than in any other country, victory in case of war will be assured mainly by the power of its ideals, by the international solidarity of the workers, by the revolutionary prospects in other countries, and not by the Russian guns, tanks and planes alone." But for reasons that are clear only to the WP, Stalin alone is made custodian of the revolutionary process. "These ideological weapons have been squandered by Stalin." Hence we must discard a vain hope.

The "Logic" of the Petty-Bourgeoisie

One would suppose that with these as the premises for Soviet victory, there could be no two choices in the matter: one must be for the victory of the Soviet Union at all costs, for even with victory Stalin is doomed. Shall we at least make the effort to meet these conditions for the advance of the workers' revolution? We quote the logic of the manifesto on this crucial point. We have omitted no step in the reasoning, nothing is left out. "If this fails to come, what the Soviet Union may expect is defeat by Hitler's guns or, possibly, dismemberment even in case of an Allied victory. **There is therefore no place in this war for defense of the present Soviet regime under Stalin's dictatorship".** How did this conclusion sneak in?

Truth to tell, the writer forgets what he wrote from one sentence to the next. Having been informed that the Stalin regime is doomed no matter what the outcome of the war, we go back and read this interesting bit of argumentation: "If the bureaucratic gang were able to go through the whole process of the present war uninjured, then the establishment of a new social class, based on a collective form of property, would be the clearly visible culmination of Russia's political and economic evolution." This cannot be.

Nevertheless, the writer then bases his conclusions on precisely this bit of conditional reasoning that simply cannot be. Hitler's victory will accomplish (for the working class, if the writer is to be understood) one great progressive task; namely, the destruction of the Stalinist totalitarian regime.

The End-Product of Soviet Defeatism

When it comes to obscurantism, the writer of the manifesto yields nothing to Hitler. Covered over under these phrases is the desirability of a Russian defeat because it will overthrow the Stalinist regime. One would suppose that the veriest child would understand that this means killing not only the Stalinist regime but the October Revolution as well.

To get around this fact the manifesto resorts to the purest form of mysticism. Hitler's victory will at the same time mean his defeat! How come? The Russian proletariat will then revive, Hitler having rendered them the proper aid for the purpose by getting rid of Stalin. Incredible, but here it is: "Assaulting Russia, the most he can do, besides getting some immediate material advantages in case of an over-powering but transient victory, is to destroy a decayed regime and crush Stalinism. But the Russian land in its immensity will absorb his exclusively military victory and meanwhile the people, who are tempered by the traditions of their great revolution and brought up in anti-fascist hatred, are immune from internal poisoning by means of assimilation of the conqueror's ideology. By destroying with his guns the Stalinist totalitarian regime, Hitler, like the sorcerer's apprentice of the fable, will have set loose the forces of history, bringing forth the torrents of revolution."

If the Russian workers were unable by themselves to throw off the Stalinist incubus, just how will they be enabled to throw off the more powerful Hitler after his complete dispersal of all Soviet forces and institutions? Please do not expect any kind of answer from the manifesto. Its thinking is on a plane all its own, following no laws of either ordinary logic or of dialectics, but a schematism that fits an unreal world. The question remains: aside from canvassing, even in its own peculiar way, all the possibilities of victory or defeat, is the WP for or against Russian victory, or is it completely indifferent? Only shame-faced cowardice keeps the manifesto from giving a simple answer to this simple question.

WHY we Defend The Soviet Union

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

5

Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York City

THE MILITANT

Formerly the SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. V.—No. 42 Saturday, October 18, 1941

Published Weekly by
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASS'N
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: Algonquin 4-8547

Editor:
FELIX MORROW

Business Manager:
LYDIA BEIDEL

Subscriptions: $2.00 per year; $1.00 for six months. Foreign: $3.00 per year, $1.50 for six months. Bundle orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

"Reentered as second class matter February 13, 1941 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. **Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.**
2. **Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.**
3. **Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.**
4. **A peoples' referendum on any and all wars.**
5. **Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.**
6. **For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.**
7. **Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.**
8. **An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.**
9. **A Workers' and Farmers' Government.**

What The Prosecutions Cannot Accomplish

"The party has been killed recently, which no doubt accounts for its extraordinary activity. There is nothing that helps the Socialist movement so much as receiving an occasional death blow. The oftener it is killed, the more boundless, the more active, the more energetic it becomes."

These words were spoken by Eugene V. Debs in his famous Canton Speech on June 16, 1918, the speech expressing his uncompromising opposition to World War I for which he was placed on trial before a federal court in Cleveland and sentenced to ten years in jail.

Debs' words apply just as well today to the situation of our party.

Next Monday, October 20 (by a coincidence the fifteenth anniversary of the death of Debs), 28 members of the Socialist Workers Party and of Motor Transport and Allied Workers Industrial Union, Local 544-CIO, will face a federal judge in Minneapolis for their opposition to imperialist World War II.

The first national meeting of Trotskyists since the indictment was held in Chicago on October 11-12. If the government expected, by the blow it struck in indicting the 28 defendants to cow or demoralize or frighten the Socialist Workers Party, it received only a surprise and a disappointment.

For not only was this Plenum-Conference the largest ever held by the American Trotskyist movement, but also the most enthusiastic, the most determined, the most spirited.

This was not because the delegates light-mindedly underestimated the seriousness of the imposing machine arrayed against them.

The delegates took this fully into consideration, but they looked deeper than the surface, and they were not dismayed by the government's prosecutions because they saw in them not a sign of the strength, but of the desperate weakness of a decaying capitalist system.

The representatives of this dying social order may try, and they may succeed, in imprisoning or otherwise removing some of its opponents. But because their system can produce only war and fascism and hunger, they can never destroy the opposition to that system itself.

The Socialist Workers Party, of course, does not desire prosecutions. But neither is it afraid of them, and neither will it back down on a single thing it stands for because of them. This was shown by the spirit and decisions of the Chicago Plenum-Conference. It will be further shown by the conduct of the defendants in the Minneapolis court room, and by the future party activity.

Discarding A Fiction

Roosevelt has taken another major step to drag this country into the imperialist war, by demanding the repeal of that section of the Neutrality Act which bars the arming of American merchant ships.

As in almost every other instance when Roosevelt has sought Congressional action, this latest step is intended merely to give legal sanction to measures he has already taken.

American merchant ships — under cover of Panama registry — are already travelling armed on the high seas. It has been revealed that the Pink Star, which was recently sunk, was one of these armed ships.

The arming was done secretly on orders of the Navy Department. Scores of other ships — how many is not exactly established, but it is known to be a large number — have been similarly armed.

It is by such tricks and evasions that the Administration has consistently violated the clearly established intent of the Neutrality Act, which has not yet been repealed.

In calling for the amendment of the Neutrality Act to permit arming of merchant ships, Roosevelt is simply discarding one more legal fiction.

From first to last, Roosevelt has regarded the Neutrality Act with utmost cynicism. He has permitted it to be flagrantly violated, and has aided and abetted these violations.

So long as he was able to carry out his war-like measures within the framework of the Neutrality Act, Roosevelt preferred it. If the Act did not, in fact, prevent him from sending arms to belligerents in American ships, if it did not prevent him from arming merchant vessels or taking all the other steps he has taken to involve this nation in the imperialist war, that was all to the good. Then the fiction of "neutrality" was useful in concealing his war designs behind a screen of "peaceful intent."

But the Neutrality Act no longer serves this purpose for Roosevelt. It has become an impediment to him. He is preparing for all-out war, and soon.

So, as fast as he is able, Roosevelt is scuttling even the legal fictions of the Neutrality Act. In the meantime, he continues to arm American merchant ships — under a Panama flag.

How the CP Aids USSR

The terrible losses and defeats in the Soviet Union — which make it clearer than ever that Stalinism is incapable of leading the workers state to anything but disaster — have had but one effect on the Communist Party in the United States: to intensify and deepen their support of the Roosevelt war program as the only means of defending the Soviet Union.

In a single day, for example, on Friday, October 10, the Stalinists came out with the demand that the United States enter the war ("Open the Western Front as the joint military undertaking of America and Britain"); threw their full weight behind the drive to shackle the labor movement to the war machine ("Anything that interferes with production of needed war supplies — whether as a result of strikes or of delays by the employers — can only help Hitler and weaken the defense of the United States"); and withdrew their own mayoralty candidate in the New York City elections in favor of the union-buster LaGuardia.

The Stalin regime in the USSR has staked all its hopes on 'aid' from the 'democratic' imperialists, and has shaped all its policies accordingly. It has refused to make any kind of appeal to the German masses to overthrow capitalism and establish a Soviet Germany — the policy of revolutionary war successfully followed by Lenin and Trotsky in the early and dark days of the workers state. The Kremlin has not even dared to promise the German workers that it will fight side by side with them against another Versailles treaty and by silence on this question has permitted Hitler to hold on to the demagogic weapon that wins support for his war in Germany.

The Stalinists in this country are not carrying on their warmongering, anti-labor activities because they like imperialist war or because they get pleasure out of strike-breaking. It is simply that they are implementing and supporting Stalin's reactionary line and its American off-shoots.

And the American working class will hold the Stalinists responsible not only for their vicious domestic policy, but also for the part they are playing in helping Stalin to lead the Soviet Union to the very brink of catastrophe.

Whitewashing Jim Crow

"Col. Charles B. Elliot, commander of the nation's largest army camp at Fort Bragg, N. C., has been removed after his flagrant anti-Negro policies led to the needless death of a Negro and white soldier," says an editorial entitled "A Victory for Negro Rights — and National Defense" in the *Daily Worker* of Oct. 11.

But this was not a victory for Negro rights — it is only an attempt by the Stalinists to win support among Negroes for the Roosevelt war program by distorting the facts to make it *appear* a victory.

Elliot carried out consistent anti-Negro policies while he commanded Fort Bragg, and it was these policies, not Elliot alone, which were responsible for the murder of Private Ned Turman, Negro draftee whose last words after defending himself against brutal attacks by military police were "I'm going to break up you MP's beating us colored soldiers!"

And this policy was not originated by Elliot, it was only carried out by him. This Jim Crow military policy came from a higher source even than the officer commanding the fort — it came from Washington, from the office of the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, from Roosevelt himself, that great "democrat" whom the Stalinists now support.

Further proof that this was no victory for Negro rights lies in the fact that while Elliot was dismissed from command of Fort Bragg, he was not dismissed from the army. He was only transferred to another fort, where he will be able to continue to carry out the same practices and policies he carried out at Bragg.

All the whitewash in the world will not be able to hide the truth that Roosevelt is determined to use only a Jim Crow army in his crusade for "democracy". It was so before the Nazi-Soviet war began, it is so today. The only difference is that the Stalinists exposed it before, and they try to cover it up now.

"Why We Left The Petty Bourgeois Opposition"

Statement of 12 Former Worker Party Members Who Broke With the Shactmanite Group and Rejoined the Trotskyists

(The following statement, which we publish in condensed form, was issued at the recent convention of the so-called Workers Party, the petty bourgeois opposition which split from the SWP last year. The statement is signed by twelve former WP members who conducted a struggle within this organization for the defense of the Soviet Union and for the principles of Trotskyism.

These twelve revolutionists are predominantly factory workers. Among them are trade union organizers and officials. All these party activists and serious militants, after announcing their resignation, affirmed their intention to join the ranks of the SWP, where all sincere revolutionists belong, and where they can always find their place).

A year and a half ago, together with the present leadership of the Workers Party — defections excepted — we took the responsibility for splitting the revolutionary movement in America. We did this with the firm conviction that we were following the path of revolutionary Marxism and were acting in the best interests of the world proletarian revolution.

Today, we find that not only were we seriously mistaken, but that the Workers Party has traveled so far from Marxism, that it is in a deep, insoluble internal crisis. At this point it must either run its course to complete revisionism or fall apart from its own centrifugal force. . .

The attitude of any group in the working class movement towards the Russian Revolution, the character of the Soviet state and the defense of the USSR from imperialist attack is the touchstone of its attitude toward all fundamental, principled problems confronting the international working class. More than once has this been said and proved but it is doubtful whether it has had a more eloquent confirmation than the course of the Workers Party since the outbreak of the Soviet-German war. . .

Under the impact of this blow, the superficial cohesiveness of the Workers Party has been shattered and its internal state of chaos revealed. . .

Before the Soviet-German war, the dissident tendencies expressed themselves within the Party thus: First, in the shameful desertion of Burnham, a leader of the Opposition (and, incidentally, originator of the political theories which are **today** making the greatest headway within the Party). Then, in the defection of a crude opportunist tendency among the youth, the Shermanites, who made their way in a single leap from the Workers Party to the political degenerates of the Socialist Party. Then, in the endless debate between the P. C. and MacDonald, who finally gave up trying to disprove Trotsky's predictions as to his fate and joined Burnham in political oblivion. And throughout this entire period, all the tendencies vied with one another in a hasty retreat from the fundamentals of Marxism as they have been accepted and understood historically in the revolutionary movement.

Since the Soviet-German war, the Party has entered a new stage in the perpetual internal struggle. In the National Committee, there are no less than four separate tendencies — all representing a retreat from the basic doctrines of Marxism and Leninism.

CURRENT TENDENCIES

Carter, who reportedly has a large following in New York and thereby in the national organization, cynically admits that Trotsky was right in posing the question of the character of the USSR as the fundamental question and then proceeds to discard virtually everything else of significance in Trotsky's writings and theories. Aside from the fact that he still remains in the movement while Burnham is out, Carter has no other differences with his ideological mentor. He holds the entire revisionist concept of Burnham. It is only a matter of time before he is faced with Burnham's admitted choice: win the party over to revisionism or leave it. Unlike Burnham, Carter may not have to leave; for he is well on the way toward success in winning the party over to his anti-Marxist program already.

Johnson covers his revisionism in the most accepted style — by long quotations from Marx. But his characterization of the USSR differs from Burnham's only academically. It is only a matter of time before there is at least a temporary truce between Johnson and Carter. The **content** of their characterizations of the USSR is identical and they will undoubtedly be driven over the hurdle of terminological differences to achieve factional unity against the centrists. . .

Shachtman continues to oscillate in the realm of his anti-Marxist formulations on "the character of the war," repeating his performance of a year and a half ago. He notifies the Russian workers, who are waging an heroic battle against imperialism, that this time he will be a defeatist; although — great consolation — on another occasion he may be a defensist. Thus, in practice, he finds agreement with the revisionists, although for some mysterious reason he continues to find justification for his betrayals of the moment in promises of loyalty in the future. So in the meantime he fights it out with Carter and Johnson to settle the basis on which to be a **defeatist.** This, with reference to the USSR, where Shachtman heatedly insists there is something worth defending and at a time when the-something-worth-defending is being destroyed by imperialism!

Wilson, E. Lund, etc., are in the most ludicrous position of all. They agree to agree on **tactics** without first considering the fundamental, **principal question** involved. They agree on the defense of the USSR without first answering the question of the class nature of the state they are defending. Thus they re-enact the tragedy of the fight within the SWP as a comedy. It does not take great powers of prediction to forecast that the unprincipled tendency of so-called "conditional defensists" will find common ground with Shachtman. In practice these people will capitulate to the defeatists by finding the formula of unity wth them against the unconditional defensists. As the whole experience of the building of the Fourth International shows, centrists who are moving to the right invariably forget their ostensible agreement with the Marxists on fundamental, principled questions in favor of organizational combinations with the anti-Marxists. . .

One year and a half after the split from the SWP we are forced to say clearly and with full knowledge of the implication that the Workers Party is a petty bourgeois centrist conglomeration of tendencies traveling away from Marxism.

The Soviet-German war and its impact on the party is for us the crucial test. It places before the international working class the task of the revolutionary defense of the Soviet Union. In the face of clear evidence confirming the whole thesis of the Fourth International — from its foundation documents to the factional struggle of two years ago — has the leadership of the Workers Party indicated the slightest interest in re-evaluating our attack on this thesis? On the contrary, the Soviet-German war has been welcomed by the Party leadership not as the occasion of a step towards Marxism but rather as an opportunity to accelerate the headlong retreat towards the most naked form of revisionism.

TROTSKY'S TEACHINGS FORGOTTEN

It is amazing how many of Trotsky's basic contributions to the revolutionary movement have already been forgotten within the Workers Party. . .

(It should be noted that some of the revisionists — Johnson and Carter, notably — are already developing the rationalization-theory that "Trotsky has been wrong for fifteen years." At the time of the split, Trotsky was only wrong on the question of the day. Now, when they are discarding all the basic principles of the Trotskyist movement, they conclude that Trotsky has been wrong all along. The next step is their inevitable conclusion, after they are forced to realize that they are deserting Marxism, that Marx, Engels, Lenin, etc., have been wrong all along too. . .)

To refresh the minds of those who have forgotten too soon:

On the nature of the Soviet Union, its class character and the Stalinist bureaucracy: **The Revolution Betrayed.** Does it seem strange to name this work, an accepted classic in the movement, as recommended reading for everyone? Yet it answers **all the questions raised by Carter** and Johnson and accepted by a large part of the Party. . .

On the deense of the USSR from imperialist attack — **The USSR and the War.** This, some of the present defeatists may recall, is the thesis written by Trotsky at the outbreak of the second world war and published in the New International. Perhaps they will also recall that it was accepted, by and large, by the Minority Faction both during and after the factional struggle. In this document, Trotsky anticipates Burnham's managerial revolution, Johnson's capitalist society theory and Shachtman's new social class. None of these refuted the document or even tried to disprove it. But what is most important is that Trotsky indisputably proves that his refutation of these revisionist theories flows from the very principles which made the October Revolution. . .

On the nature of the Workers Party, written before the Party was actually formed and borne out by the experiences of the past two years — **A Petty Bourgeois Opposition in the S.W.P. and From A Scratch To Gangrene.** Also familiar names? To many of the comrades in the Workers Party they are already forgotten. But the clarity with which they analyze the Workers Party — in advance! — and the accuracy with which they predict its course cannot be gainsaid. . .

This is the program on which we must take our stand and this is the ideological basis from which we derive our program. We cannot stand with the revisionists, whose motion is in a straight line away from revolutionary Marxism. The party which adheres to and advocates Trotsky's ideas and Trotsky's program is the Socialist Workers Party and with it we find political solidarity.

To the comrades of the Workers Party, we repeat over and over again: Watch the developments within the Party and see where they lead. From Wilson — to Shachtman — to Carter — to Johnson — to MacDonald and Burnham. From "conditional defensism" — to "conditional defeatism" — to unconditional defeatism — to rejection of the class struggle. From the rejection of Marxist (class) criteria — to the rejection of Trotskyism — to the rejection of Bolshevism — to the abandonment of the revolution. How many times has this fatal course been traced. . .

To the comrades of the Workers Party who see this tendency clearly and understand its implications, we urge: Join us! Join the Socialist Workers Party and help build the party of revolutionary Marxism!

JOHN BORDEN, Acting Organizer, Los Angeles and Member of Section Executive Committee.
MIKE BARTELL, Member Section Executive Committee, Los Angeles.
EDITH MANN, Member Section Executive Committee, Los Angeles.
ABE MAYER
DAVID MANN
MARY OLIVER
BURT RAND
DOLORES HILLSON
LEONA J. (San Francisco)
RONA SHERMAN (Y.P.S.L.)
FRED KENT
MILTON ALVIN

What Has Inspired The Growing Unrest In Occupied Lands?

By MICHAEL CORT

The German military machine is conducting the most extensive rear guard action in modern military history. This action is not confined to the immediate rear of the German-Russian battle lines; it extends from the Ukraine westward to the Atlantic and from the Arctic Circle south to the Mediterranean and Africa. The whole of occupied Europe, seething with revolt against Nazi rule, is in a continuous process of being "mopped-up."

Since June of this year 76,000 persons have been searched and questioned in Paris alone, according to statistics issued by the Nazi forces of occupation this week. Of the persons questioned, 1,000 have been arrested. This is exclusive of the mass round-ups of Jews and the house-to-house searches for revolutionary leaflets and arms. These figures for a single city give an idea of the extent of the preventive measures which the Nazi have found it necessary to take in order to maintain their rule throughout Europe.

Summary courts in Prague sentenced to death 15 persons last Saturday. Open warfare is being waged in Croatia between the Nazis and native guerrillas. Entire regiments of Roumanian troops have revolted when ordered into battle on the Odessa front. Five German regiments marched through Bulgaria this week on their way to Greece to aid the Italians who have been unable to keep order in that country. Bulgars and Danes and Dutchmen and Norwegians are all striking at their Fascist oppressors, though they face certain death whenever they get caught.

The methods of terror now being employed to suppress this unrest, are not the methods that Hitler voluntarily chose as the means for safeguarding his rule — they have been forced upon him by the desperateness of his position. He would much prefer to obtain the voluntary cooperation of the conquered peoples. Such cooperation would relieve the Reich of enormous costs in men and materials. But Hitler's "collaborators", his Quislings and Petains, have become increasingly impotent, and so he is forced to use his own soldiers and his own gunpowder.

INVASION OF USSR INSPIRES REVOLTS

The present wave of anti-Nazi demonstrations and sabotage in occupied Europe had its inception with the outbreak of the Nazi-Soviet war. This is a significant fact.

The European masses did not rise up to strike at the Nazis when Denmark fell, or Norway, or France, or the Balkans. When England faced what appeared to be certain invasion, she found little sympathy or support on the Continent. It was only when the German Fascists turned on the Soviet Union that they experienced real difficulties in their rear.

The blows now being struck against the German forces of occupation are largely blows in the defense of the Soviet Union. The persecuted masses turn **instinctively** to the workers' State for leadership in the hour of their darkest need. This action is spontaneous and instinctive only because no call for revolutionary solidarity has yet come from the bureaucracy ruling the Soviets. The Kremlin gives no conscious proletarian revolutionary direction to the struggle.

Stalin has conducted his agitation on a strictly nationalist patriotic level. Anything else would have offended his imperialist allies in London and Washington, who fear workers' revolution as much as Hitler. And yet, in spite of the lack of real revolutionary leadership, the European workers show their understanding of the difference between a workers' state and a capitalist state. They know that in the Soviet Union there are no capitalist landlords and bosses. They also know that the Allied powers, like the Nazis, are warring only for the benefit of the capitalist bosses. They know that to eliminate capitalist war they must eliminate those who profit from it — and this has been done only in the Soviet Union. That simple fact turns the oppressed peoples of the occupied countries in the direction of the first workers' state.

"DEMOCRACIES" DO NOT AID REVOLTS

The Nazis recently ceased the practice of labeling all saboteurs "Communists" and often refer to them now as "agents of Britain." Obviously these brave men and women are not agents of Britain, otherwise they would have struck when Britain was most imperiled — not when the Soviet Union is fighting for its life. Churchill, however, gladly accepts the "responsibility" for the uprisings. He would like the British and American workers to think that these growing revolts are manifestations of support for the "Democracies" and he would like to sidetrack the unrest away from the direction of a class revolution.

Each time Churchill takes credit for a wrecked train or a slow-down strike, he lands a blow against the peoples now struggling to throw off Hitler's yoke. Churchill is an enemy of Hitler; but overweighing that is the fact that he is the enemy of the German **people.** He represents another Versailles Treaty with all its misery for the conquered. However much the German people may hate Hitler, they hate and fear no less the rival British and American imperialists who would shackle the defeated peoples to a system of foreign oppression more violent even than that imposed by the monstrous Treaty of Versailles.

Each time Churchill claims credit for an act of anti-Nazi sabotage, he tends to alienate the German and French and Greek people from the saboteurs. He discredits the motives of the anti-Nazi fighters and in turn increases the prestige of Hitler, who bases much of his propaganda upon the very real injustices done the people of the Continent by the Treaty of Versailles.

But, in spite of Churchill's harmful attempts to give a "democratic" imperialist color to these revolts, the resistence to Hitler increases. With little hope of direct military aid from the Allies, the masses nevertheless take up arms and challenge the invader.

All this occurs **in spite** of the past betrayals of revolutionary situations by the Kremlin; **in spite** of the lack of revolutionary leadership in the present crisis. If the Russian Soviets are revitalized, if Stalinism is replaced by Bolshevism, if the Soviet Union issues an international revolutionary appeal, the European masses will respond in a manner that would explode Europe and drive German and Allied imperialists alike off the face of the world.